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AN INQUIRY

CONCERNING

THE PRIMITIVE INHABITANTS

OF

IRELAND.

ILLUSTRATED BY

Ptolemy's Map of Erin, corrected by the aid of Bardic History.

BY THOMAS WOOD, M. D.

Author of the Prize Essay, published in the thirteenth volume of the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy:—"On the mixture of *Fable* and *Fact* in the early annals of Ireland; and on the *best* mode of ascertaining what degree of credit these ancient documents are justly entitled to."

"All nations seem willing to derive merit from the splendour of their original, and where History is silent, they generally supply the defect with fable."—*Goldsmith.*

"Nescire quid, antequam natus sis, acciderit, id est semper esse puerum."—*Cicero.*

LONDON:

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DUBLIN.

1821

Gough Ireland Add.ᵗˢ

TO THE

MEMBERS

OF THE

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

In the endeavour to develop TRUTH, amidst the mazes of fable, the deceptive play on names, and the errors of conjecture, I found it necessary to expose those manifest fictions which, for ages, have usurped its place, disguised and distorted it. If those researches have enabled me to prove that, with regard to the population, laws, morality, arts and sciences of the ancient Irish, the present race is comparatively a large nation, enjoying a considerably greater share of

liberty, protection, knowledge and happiness, I shall deem my time well employed, in having contributed to the pleasure which such conviction would afford to the friends of Ireland.

The composition of this History, such as it is, may be ascribed solely to your notice of, and liberality with regard to, the previous Essay. And, though it engrossed much of my time and labour, which, probably, would have been more advantageously reserved for other avocations, I do not presume, in consequence, to insinuate that, either is worthy of your countenance. However, if you, my Lords and Gentlemen, should consider this work an appeal to facts as well as to common sense, and believe I have been successful in converting the groundwork of Bardic story from fable to authentic history, and in evincing the British and Irish to be, almost collectively, the posterity of one distinct stock, you will be sensible that I have

spared no pains in my endeavours to deserve the honor of your patronage; an honor, which I am the more anxious to obtain, lest abler writers should be deterred from prosecuting this *Inquiry*, and induced to pay more homage to our national vanity, at the expense, I fear, of truth and reason, than deference to the penetration and sound judgment of this enlightened age.

I have the honor to be,

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

With all due respect,

Your most humble,

Obedient and obliged Servant,

THOMAS WOOD.

AUGUST 15, 1821.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Author begs leave to inform the Reader that the *Inscription* called PELASGIC, alluded to in page 135, and printed in page 172 of this Inquiry, has no pretension to antiquity.—This discovery has been made by Mr. TOWNLEY RICHARDSON, and communicated to the ROYAL DUBLIN SOCIETY, after those pages had been struck off. By a strict investigation in the vicinity of the place in which it was found, this gentleman learned that, those words reversed signify *E. Conid* 1731; a person who, it seems, in place of having been a Deity, was only a cutter of mill-stones. The Author thought it his duty to insert the Inscription as he found it in Gough's Camden, although it tended to militate against the tenor of this History, and particularly, against his account of the Milesians, as some of the letters resemble the Bastulan.

INTRODUCTION.

IRISH History, considered merely as a compilation from the accounts of bards, is not deserving of sober investigation. Its absurdity is too glaring for criticism, and would not merit examination, were it not for the basis of the fabulous superstructure being in a great measure true, and for the importance which some learned authors have attached to fiction.

It appears to have been the work of different hands: it is full of anachronisms, and is in other respects confused. The epic poems, from which the history is compiled, chiefly comprise a relation of those unnatural wars, which, it is said, originated in a very

trifling cause and were waged, not only between two reputed brothers, soon after their supposed arrival in Eirin, but between the posterity of each, during many successive centuries, although this island was, long before the arrival of their families, planted with tribes naturally jealous of encroachment. The heroes of those poems, Heremon and Heber, erroneously called brothers, are brought hither immediately from Spain, and this emigration is so generally credited, not only here but in that country, that every writer on Irish history, is expected to coincide with this opinion. Even at this day, after the lapse of three thousand one hundred and twenty years from the supposed arrival of the Milesians in Ireland, many families in this country consider themselves ennobled by their Scythian or Hispanic descent; as if Scythia or Spain were, at that remote æra, more civilized than Gaul or Britain; admitting that the latter countries had been then inhabited.

The author of the Milesian history was, according to some writers, St. Kevin, founder of a monastery at Gleandaloch in the county of Wicklow; but, more probably, it was Fiech, a bard, as we are told, of the sixth century. The fictitious tenor of the composition has been faithfully transmitted, in successive ages, by Cuanac, Cennfaelad, Fiech's scholiast, Nennius, &c. Supposing that the author had been acquainted with the true history of the first settlers, a plain, safe, and near road would not suit the dignity of his muse, nor the vanity of his chieftains. The short passage from Caledonia to the opposite and visible north Irish coast, or from Anglesea, (Mona) to Erin, inviting hither the superabundant savages of Britain,[1] or those driven forward by the Gallic *vis a tergo*, could not afford any marvellous or remarkable incidents. The bard therefore sought after an ideal ancestry suitable to the credulity, and gratifying to the ambition of

1. Cæsar, de Bell. Gall. lib. v. sect. 12. Hominum est infinita multitudo.

the age in which he wrote:* he described the travels, as long and dangerous; the wars, as full of wonderful achievements, accompanied with scenes of enchantment; and thus,

> The poet's pen
> ——— gives to airy nothing
> A local habitation and a name.

Whoever the original bard had been, the author of this Inquiry trusts he will be able to prove that his Milesian history is nothing more than a tale of wild adventures, founded upon the traditional denominations of tribes agreeing with the greater part of those described on Ptolemy's map, and coexistent in Ireland in the second century; and that it was composed, certainly, not before the fifth, probably, not earlier than the seventh,† and evidently, by the aid of books brought hither,

* Much learning has been abused, and much time wasted in endeavours to prove the authenticity of this history. One of the most learned and zealous supporters of the Milesian story, anxious to show that it could not be void of foundation, has, lately, by venturing to specify the tribe which, he says, had emigrated from Spain, unwittingly degraded the family he meant so ennoble.—Vide Note 196.

† See Notes 100 and 105.

by the Roman or British clergy. Ptolemy's tribes constituting the basis of Irish history, the bard's imagination furnished the materials of the superstructure, by the use of rhetorical figures; which not only enabled him to personify inanimate objects, but also to convert tribes and nations into heroes.—Those tribes recorded by the BARDS, and the various figures, as epenthesis, metaplasm, metaphor, &c. used by the latter, will, as they occur in THEIR history, be expounded either after *hyphens*, or in notes. In the definition of some tropes the author may err; but he believes the greater part, if not the whole, will be found correct.

Legendary tales, intended for, and adapted to, the lowest sphere of understanding, are interwoven with this history, and were evidently composed for the amusement of the credulous minds of a simple people. But, although the superstructure be anile, the greater part of that history is built upon a foundation of facts, which, according to the

author's researches, were coeval with the third century. And, considering that tradition cannot in general be depended upon, beyond one hundred years, it is a very extraordinary circumstance that those facts, which comprehend the names of the tribes, by which they were designated in the second, and probably not longer than the third century, should have been commemorated in song upwards of sixteen hundred years!

The map of Ireland by Ptolemy seems to have been wholly unknown to the bards, as well as to the early native writers of Irish History. His authority is opposed by Philo-Milesians, who do not consider that, if this map were non-existent, the ground-work of bardic history would appear as much in the light of a fable as the fictions raised upon it.—They disclaim his authority, because they could not find any resemblance between the names of his tribes and those of the bards, and because they conceived that his tribes lived in an age too late to support their

history, or to satisfy their vanity. Yet, they assign no reason why his map of Ireland should not be as authentic as that of Gaul, or that of South and North Britain. If we examine its coastings, rivers, lakes, and general outline, we will find it, as Mr. Pinkerton justly observes, surprisingly accurate, considering Ptolemy's opportunities of information; consequently, we have no cause to suppose its authenticity less so, with regard to the tribes he has planted upon it. Ptolemy wrote in the second century; the most ancient Irish bards, in later ages, as it evidently appears from their history being blended with the Jewish, which was not introduced into Ireland, probably before the fourth century.

The author has been employed a considerable time in the investigation of the Irish bardic history, with the view of learning how far it tends to establish the reality of those tribes, described in Ptolemy's map. This source of information has not only enabled him to discover several facts, with regard to

the coincidence of the names of tribes and situations with some of the editions of Ptolemy's map, but to pronounce with confidence in some dubious points. It also justifies him in the recantation of one or two assertions which appear in the prize essay, published in the thirteenth volume of the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.

In the essay just alluded to, the author took notice of the reiterated assertion of Philo-Milesians, that no writer can be qualified to undertake an ancient history of Ireland, without understanding the Irish language; and, perhaps, he might have added, without founding his history upon the fabulous narratives which appear in that language. Thus the arguments of every new work on this subject would, like the Tuatha De Danán or "the Irish in the Milesian fables, still rise after they have received their death's wound, and challenge their slayers to a second combat."* In that essay an erro-

* Whittaker's Genuine History of the Britons asserted.

neous assertion escaped the author with respect to Mr. O'Flaherty, whom he described as extremely ignorant of the Irish language: on the contrary, much has been collected from Irish works by that learned writer, and also by others, which has been translated into Latin, French and English; but the whole collection, considered as the materials of Irish history, seems to be nothing more than a rhapsody. If those Irish MSS. which are preserved in the Bodleian library, or in that of Stowe, contain any unpublished information relative to the ancient history of this island, we are yet to learn what erroneous assertion of consequence has been made, what important fact suppressed, by those antiquaries who were ignorant of the Irish tongue, and who obtained the materials of their histories from translations of that language and from other sources.

Doctor Keating having travelled, in the reign of Charles I. through different parts of

near Bantry. Having landed, forty days before the deluge, they proceeded to the confluence of the three rivers, called Suire, Eoire and Bearbha, which constitute the haven of Waterford, 'where the men divided the women among them.'[4]

O'Flaherty mentions three fishermen from Spain as the first visitors of Ireland. And, after the island remained uninhabited thirty or three hundred years, he next introduces the parricide Partholan — Bartholomew, the son of Seara, son of Sru, son of Easru, son of Tramant, son of Fathochda, son of Magog, son of Japhet, son of Noah, from Migdonia in Greece. He arrived in Inmhear Sceine, the estuary of Kenmare — Ceanmhara, three hundred and twelve years after the deluge, and on Tuesday the fourteenth of May,[5] accompanied by his wife Ealga[6], his sons Rughraidhe,[7] Slainge,[8] and Laighline,[9] or,

[4] Keating's History of Ireland, p. 153 of the late translation.

[5] Idem, p. 165. Others say that, 'Partholan landed about one thousand and two years after the flood, and at the same time allow, that he was in Ireland in the time of Abraham'! O'Flaherty says he dwelled at Inis-Samer, in the river Erne.—Ogygia, p. 163.

[6] *Ealga*, noble; a poetical name of Ireland.

[7] The name of a lake; also of a Belgic sept, whose ancestors emigrated from the south to the north of Ireland.

[8] Name of a mountain; also of a chieftain of the Menapii or Coriondii, who occupied the S. E. coast of Ireland.

[9] Name of a lake; also of Leinster province, and derived by Keating from one of the Celtic names for a spear.—Ogyg. p. 168.

according to Keating and Mac Geoghegan, Er, Orbha, Fearon and Fergna, each under the care of a nurse, and all guarded by one thousand soldiers.[10] The island, according to Keating, was now, for the first time, really conquered and equally divided among those children; but the whole colony, amounting to nine thousand souls, were in thirty, three hundred, five hundred and twenty, or six hundred and forty-two years after their arrival, destroyed by the plague at Binneadair, the hill of Howth.[11]

After the destruction of Bartholomew's colony, Ireland is said to have been uninhabited during thirty years, when Neimhidh—Poetry, the son of Agnamhain—Song,[12] the great-grandson of Seara, who was the great-great-great-grandson of Magog, the son of Japhet, came hither. 'Indeed all who have invaded and possessed Ireland, are of the

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[10] Keating, p. 3, 13, 17, of the old trans. and p. 121 of the late, informs us that the latter names were those by which Partholan's sons were known; but in p. 165, by a strange inconsistency, he adopts the former names given by O'Flaherty. In p. 173 of the late trans. we are informed, that four persons among the descendants of Milesius were also called Er, Orbha, Fearon, and Fergna—Histoire de l'Irlande, tome premier, p. 60, par l'Abbe M'Geoghegan.

[11] This hill however is omitted by O'Flaherty, who, p. 168, mentions two other places.

[12] Gough's Camden's Brit. p. 220.—Trans. of the Royal Irish Acad. vol. xiii.—Mixture of Fable and Fact, p. 12.

race of Magog, but Ceasair alone, if it be true that she ever landed here. It is at Sru, son of Easru, that the generations of Partholan and Neimhidh separate; and also it is at Seara the Fir Bolg—Belgæ, and the Tuatha De Danánn—Damni, and the descendants of Milesius—Mileadh, a soldier, divide, and all these spoke the Scoitbhearla or Irish language.[13]

Neimhidh departing from Scythia or from Greece,[14] began his voyage from the Euxine[15] with thirty-four transports,[16] each manned with thirty persons. He was accompanied by his sons Starn—Stair, History; Jarbhaineil faidh—Jarbhaineil the Prophet; Aininne—Anger; and Fergus leath-dhearg—Fergus red-side; with their nurses. His colony appears to have settled at Dalnaruidhe and Dal-Riada, in the north of Ireland; but it

[13] Keating, p. 175. This author informs us in two or three parts of his history, that the Scoitbhearla or Gailic was the mother tongue of every tribe in Ireland; an assertion which proves that the bards were completely ignorant of the Gothic and Celtic history of this island. No two nations could differ more widely in language, manners and customs.

[14] In the old translation of Keating, the country is called Greece; in the late, Scythia.

[15] The ancients, according to Mr. Pinkerton, were unacquainted with those parts of the Northern hemisphere, which lie beyond the 52°.

[16] The ancient Spaniards, British and Irish, the Gallic emigrants from Armorica perhaps excepted, used no other vessels than *Coraebs*. Appianus, who lived in the reign of Hadrian, says, the Spaniards undertook no voyage to the west or north, except to Britain during the flow of tide. Theat. Geograp-

seems to have been driven to the south by the Foghmhoraicc[17] or African pirates, navigators of the race of Cham, who quitted Africa to avoid the descendants of the race of Shem. Among these were four celebrated fort builders, named Bog, Robog,[18] Rodin and Ruibhne, the sons of Madain muinreamhair —Madain thick-neck, who settled in Donnegal—Dun na ngal, the fortresses of the Gauls.

The Nemedians, who remained in Ireland, 'were sorely oppressed by the tyranny of their African masters, till the posterity of Simeon *breac*—the speckled or party-coloured Simeon, the son of Starn—History, the son of Neimhidh—Poetry, who had settled in Greece, came into the island. These people were called Fir Bolg—Belgæ, and landed in the country two hundred and seventeen years

vet. edente P. B. Bevero. Those who inhabited Portugal, according to Strabo, lib. 3, used vessels made of leather.—Pliny, Sex. Ruf. Avienus & Lucan agree that the British vessels were willow boats called *Corraghs*. Solinus says; 'in the sea between Britain and Ireland they sail in ozier vessels covered with ox-hides. The mariners abstain from food during the voyage.' And these were continued in use in the sixth century, according to Gildas.

[17] Derived from *fogh*, plundering, and *mor*, *muir*, or *mar*, the sea; pirates.

[18] The Rhebogdii, of Ware's map of Ireland, whom he places in the N.W. of this isle, were, probably, called after this, Robog, who may be supposed to have been a chieftain from his celebrity as a fort builder. For reasons, which I shall assign in a subsequent part of this work, I suppose them to have been the *Rhedones* of Celtic Gaul, who, in consequence of their maritime skill and

after Nemedius first arrived upon the coast.'[19] Another of those grandsons of Neimhidh—Poetry, who headed the emigrants from Ireland, was called Jobhath. 'He sailed to the north parts of Europe, and some antiquaries are of opinion that the Tuatha De Danánn—Damni, descended from him.[20] The third general, grandson of *Poetry*, was Briotan-maol—the bald Briton, who landed in the north parts of Scotland, and there settled; and his posterity were long possessed of that country.'—'Nay, holy Cormac Mac Cuilionnain asserts in his psalter, that it is from this Briotan-maol the island of Great Britain takes the name, which it bears to

better constructed vessels, were enabled to pillage the south coast of Ireland. We are told that the first battle between the Foghmhoraicc and the Neimidh or the sons of poetry, took place near Sliabh Bladhma, in Leinster; the next at Ros Fraocain, in Conacht; the third near their own region at Tor Conuing in Dun na ngal, in each of which the Nemedians were victorious; but in the fourth battle, which was fought at Cnamhruis, in Leinster, the Nemedians suffered a signal defeat. Nemedius having died soon after with 2000 of his colony at Oilean arda Neimhiodh, now the great island in the cove of Cork, a heavy annual tax was imposed upon the survivors. This tax consisted in two-thirds of children, corn and cattle, a quantity of cream, butter and flour, which were sent to *Magh Geidne*, or the plain of compulsion, since, the barony of Cool and Tullagh. In consequence of the state of vassalage, to which the Nemedians were reduced, they became desperate, and a fifth battle having been fought at Dun na ngal, the fortresses of the Rhobogd were razed and their chieftain slain. At this juncture, however, *More*, another leader, the son of Dele—Dile, a flood, having arrived with a fleet, the Nemedians were vanquished. During their state of slavery, it appears that, some of them quitted the island.

[19] Keating, p. 187. [20] Idem, p. 183.

this day; and in this the ancient records of Ireland agree with him.'[21]

O'Flaherty states, upon the authority of bardic history, that the Nemedians were exterminated, and that Ireland was again left to its native woods during two hundred, or, according to his computation, four hundred and twelve years; yet, he does not say a word respecting the fate of the Foghmoraicc.[22]

Fir Bolg, or Belgæ.

'WHILE the followers of Simeon-breac[23] remained in that part of Greece called Thrace, the population grew very numerous; and the Greeks subjected them to great hardship and slavery, obliging them to dig earth and raise mould, and carry it in sacks, or bags of leather, and place it upon rocks, in order to form a fruitful soil.'—'In consequence of

[21] Keating, p. 185.

[22] Ogyg. p. 170.—The Psalter of Cashil supplies this omission by informing us that A. M. 3287 Breasrigh, an Heberian monarch, (king of the Ibhearni), ultimately defeated them.

[23] Simeon, one of their leaders, is called *breac*, speckled; probably in allusion to the Gallic dress, which might have been introduced by commerce into Britain, before the emigration of the Belgæ to Ireland.

this servitude, they came to a resolution of shaking off the yoke, and 5000 of them assembled, and made boats out of the leathern bags in which they used to carry earth; but according to the book of Dromasneachta, they seized upon the fleet of the king of Greece. These descendants of Simeon returned to Ireland about 216 years after the invasion of the island by Neimhidh,' [24]—and, according to O'Flaherty, A.M. 2657. They had five commanders called Slainge,[25] Rughruidhe, Gann, Geanann[26] and Seanghan, beside the five sons of Deala—Kindred, the son of Loch—the Sea, son of Teachta—Possession, the son of Tribhuaidh—Treabhnaith, family of the earth, who was the descendant, in the seventh degree, of *History*, the son of *Poetry*,[27] who may be easily traced up to Japhet!—

[24] Keating, p. 187.

[25] Slainge was probably a leader of the Menapii or Coriondii; Rughruidhe of some other Belgic Sept, in later ages. In p. 13 of the old translation, Keating agrees with O'Flaherty, p. 163, that two, of three of Partholan's sons, were called *Slainge* and *Rughruidhe!*

[26] This bardic history of the Belgæ is greatly confused. Keating, p. 18 of the old translation, informs us that Gann and Geanann were two principal commanders of the Foghmoraicc, who were slain in a battle with the sons of *Poetry*, in Conacht. They were, probably, the *Gangani* of Ptolemy, the *Cenn Cangi* of the county Clare.

[27] Keating, p. 189. The bard invents a history, which is partly founded on a play upon the various significations of those Celtic imitations of Belgic names, which the affinity in sound furnished him with. Hence odd origins are deduced from strange employments. Thus, Fir Bolg, literally, the Belgic

'These five leaders of the Fir Bolg divided Ireland between them into five parts.'[28]

The followers of Slainge were called men of Galliah; and he became the first monarch of Ireland. 'The followers of the family of Geanann and Rughruidhe went by the name of Fir Domhnann; and some antiquaries assert that, these two princes, with their third of the army, landed in Irrus Domhnan, and that that place has its name from them,[29] yet those five sons of Deala—Knidred, with their whole army, were known by the general name of Fir Bolg.'—'Before them no one possessed the island, who could properly be called king of Ireland.'[30] O'Flaherty informs

people, from the south coast of Britain, are said to mean *sack men*, in allusion to their supposed occupation; from *bolg*, a leathern bag, 'which they made use of in Greece,—according to Olaus Varelius *bolg* in Gothic signifies a sack, *belgr*, a little sack: *belag*, in the same language, means a *society of the good*. As they were a Gothic people it is evident that the name could not be derived from the Celtic. Fir Domhnoin, the Irish imitation of Damnonii, a people from Cornwall; from *fir*, people and *domhnoin*, deep; 'from the pits they used to dig, in order to obtain mould for the Fir Bolg.' Fir Gaillian, who were probably the *Cauci* on the east coast of Ireland, from the name of a *spear*, 'which they used as weapons of defence, to protect the rest when at work.' Keating calls the Belgæ, collectively, the sons of *Uadhmor*, or the *terrible*.

[28] Keating, p. 189.

[29] All the British Belgæ, who settled in Ireland, were probably the Damnonii of Cornwall and Devonshire. These landed at Arklow (Ard cloch) upon the opposite E. coast of Ireland, called after them *Inmbear Domhnan*, the *Oboca* of Ptolemy and the *abhan mor* of the present day. They settled in the South of Ireland.

[30] Keating, p. 191. Hence the subjugation of Ireland by Belgic arms may be inferred.

us, through Coeman the poet, that there were but nine Belgic kings in Ireland, and that their reign lasted but thirty years: he however quotes a chronological poem, which extends it to eighty years, a duration which he thinks more probable.[31] Dr. Keating states it at fifty-six,[32] or, according to the late translation, at thirty-six.[33]

Eochaidh, son of Eirc, the fourth in descent from Loch—the Sea, reigned ten years. He was the last monarch *of Ireland* of the Fir Bolg race, and, during his reign the silver-handed Nuadha, king of the Tuatha De Danànn, invaded the island, when, after a desperate battle fought at Magh Tuireadh, in the county of Galway, near Loch Masc, Eochaidh was routed, and ten thousand, or, according to others, one hundred thousand of the Fir Bolg were slain, between that place and Youghal—Eochail. Those who escaped, took refuge in Aruinn, Ile, Rachluin, the Hebrides—Insi Gal, and other islands, whence they were driven to Leinster by the Picts.

[31] Ogyg. p. 172. [32] Keating—old translation, p. 22.

[33] Idem, p. 191. In the 13th vol. of the Transactions of the R. I. A. Mixture of Fable and Fact, p. 60, reasons are assigned, which tend to prove that the Belgæ, on the contrary, were a predominant people in Ireland. In the following history the reader will judge whether the author's description of the manners and customs of the ancient Irish accords with the history of the Goths or with that of the Celts.

They afterwards removed to Conacht, where Oiliolla, king of that province, allowed them to occupy allodial possessions. They dwelled in Loch Cime, Rinn Tamhuin, Loch Cathra, Rinn Mbeara, Moilinn, Dun Aongusa in Aruin, Carn Conuill, Magh Naghair, Magh Nasail, Magh Maoin, Lochuair and many others. At length they were driven out of the island by Concculain and Conall-Cearnach at the head of the Ulster forces. Keating adds that they erected no royal seat or edifice, nor cleared the lands of wood.[34]

Tuatha De Danann, or Damni.[35]

This tribe is of the family of Iobaath, son of Beothuidh, son of Iarbhaineoil faidh,—the prophet, son of Neimeadh—Poetry. They sojourned in Bœotia according to some, while others assert that they dwelt in Attica,

[34] History of Ireland, p. 195.

[35] The arrival of this tribe in Ireland probably preceded that of the Belgæ several centuries; but the former having been expelled by the Rhobogdii, the bards allude to the time of their second settlement. They were the *Damni*, who occupied in the S. W. part of Scotland, Carrick, Cunningham and Renfrew part of Kyle and part of Clydesdale. Ptolemy calls them Darnii or Darini; and the Irish epithet *De* is supposed by Camden to have been borrowed, from their residence on the river Dee.

about Athens. Here they learned the art of necromancy and enchantment. 'By their extraordinary witchcraft they used to infuse demons into the dead bodies of their armies to put them in motion; when the Syrians, however, perceived, that they were the corses of those whom they had previously slain on the field of battle, that fought against them, the next day, they entered into council with their own priests, who advised them to drive a stake of mountain-ash through the corse of every one of those who used to revive against them; and added, that if they were quickened by demons, they would be instantly converted into worms; but that if they were really revived, the bodies would not admit of instant corruption.'[36] This experiment prevented resuscitation. The Syrians obtained a victory in consequence, and the Tuatha De Danann having fled and quitted the country, arrived in the land of Lochlann, where their skill in magic procured them a favorable reception. Here they occupied four cities, and instructed youth. They afterward arrived in the north of Scotland where they remained seven years in Dobhar and Iardhobhar. 'They pos-

[36] Keating, p. 197.

sessed four articles of high value, of which one was the stone of destiny, which used to roar under each king of Ireland upon his election.'[37] And it is now 'under the throne on which the king of England is usually crowned, having been forcibly taken from the abbey of Scone in Scotland, by Edward the first.'[38]

'After the Tuatha De Danánn had continued seven years in Scotland they removed into Ireland, and landed on Monday the first of May, in the north of Ireland, and immediately set fire to their shipping.' 'After that they formed a magical mist about themselves for three days; so that they marched unperceived by the Fir Bolg, until they reached Sliabh an iaruinn,[39] whence they sent ambassadors to Eochadh and to the nobility of the Fir Bolg, to demand the sovereignty of Ireland from them, or to try the fate of a battle.' The old translation informs us that this monarch, having accepted the challenge, lost from ten to one hundred thousand men, in consequence of their enchantment. They afterwards defeated the African pirates.[40]

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[37] Keating, p. 192. [38] Keating, p. 201.

[39] Literally, the mountain of iron; situate between Loch Ailin and Loch Binne.

[40] Keating, old trans. p. 26, 27.

Some antiquaries are of opinion that the Tuatha De Danánn called themselves after three sons of Danánn, who were famous sorcerers. Others assert that both the mother and sons were worshipped as deities. Some think the name derived from their skill in poetry, *dan* signifying an *art*, and likewise a poem or song; and the word *Tuath*, which literally means the north, is equivalent with lords or commanders.'[41]

Among the different kings who are noticed by Keating,[42] mention is made of three sons of Chearmada mil-bheoil[43]—the honey-mouthed offspring of a man, son of Daghdha[44]—the good, who were called after the idols or gods which they worshipped.[45] 'According to the psalter of Cashel, the Tuatha De Danánn held the sovereignty of Ireland, in all, one hundred and ninety-seven years.[46]

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[41] Keating, late trans. p. 207. [42] p. 215.

[43] *Cear*, offspring; *modh*, a man; *mil*, honey; *bhaille*, the mouth.

[44] *Dà, da'gh, deàgh*, the good.

[45] These were *Cuill*, a log or a forest; *ceacht*, a plough-share, and *Grian*, the sun. The bard bestowed this island, under three denominations, in marriage upon each. Mac Greine, *the son of the sun*, married it under its common name *Eire*; Mac Ceacht, under one of its poetic denominations, *Fodhla*; and Mac Cuill under another, *Banba*. They are said to have reigned alternately; each during one year.—As the bard or poet personified the island, he must surely have intended to personify its products and the sun, as the source of vegetation. The idea of this island having been wedded to her native woods, to agriculture and to the sun, is truly poetic.

[46] Keating's history.

The Origin of the Milesians,

(Mac Mileadh,—literally, the sons of a Soldier.)

Deduced from the CINNEADH SCUIT, the Scythian race, and FINE GAOIDHIL —FINE GAILL, the Gallic Family.[47]

MOSES gives no account of the sons of Magog, the great ancestor of the Scythians. These are supplied by the book of invasions, and 'particularly by that choice volume called the Leabhar dhroma sneachta, or the snow-backed book, which was written before St. Patrick arrived in Ireland. According to this MS. it seems Magog had three sons, whose names were Báath,[48] Ibáath,[49] and Fathachta.[50] Fenius Farsuidh[51]—the true family of the Muse, king of Scythia, and ancestor of the Gaodhal or Gadelian race, was descended from the first of those sons. 'From the second sprang the Amazons, Bactrians and Parthians; and from the last came Partholan—Bartholomew, who first settled in Ireland after the deluge, as well as Neimheadh—Poetry, son of Aghnamhain—

[47] This promiscuous mixture of Gothic and Celtic denominations, which the bard applied to the Brigantian tribe, evinces that he was ignorant of the history of the Goths and Celts; and the general name *Mileadh*, a soldier, proves he knew nothing of the Brigantian leaders in Ireland.

[48] Ba'th, the *sea*, *death*, *slaughter*. [49] Iobadh, *death*.

[50] Fathachta, fo, a *prince*, tochdach, *silent*, *quiet*.

[51] Fine, *tribe* or *family*, usa, *just* or *true*, fearsa, a *verse*.

Song; and consequently the Fir Bolg—Belgæ and Tuatha De Danánn[52]—Damni.' 'Of the race of this Fathachta too came the great Attila, who subjected Pannonia to his sway, continued long to harass the Roman power, laid waste and depopulated Aquileia, &c.'[53] 'From Scythia, too, descended of the line of Magog, was Zeliorbes king of the Huns, who made war upon the emperor Justinian, &c.'[54] 'Josephus affirms, that Magogia is the name by which the Greeks denominated Scythia.' 'The Gadelians, or descendants of Gaodhal glas[55]—Gaill, may with the same

[52] Keating, p. 217. [53] Idem. [54] Idem.

[55] Idem, p. 219.—O'Brien in his Irish English Dictionary (Remarks on the letter A, p. 5,) informs us that, 'notwithstanding the complex and inform shape of the words *Gaidhil*, *Gaodhil*, *Gaeidhil*, *Gaidhilic*, *Gaedhilic*, *Gaeidhilic*, into which they have been changed, yet the originals from which they were derived are still preserved in their primitive simplicity, by the very pronunciation of these latter words, which is very nearly the same as that of the former, inasmuch as the adventitious letters *dh* are not pronounced and serve only to distinguish the syllables: which shows that this was the only purpose they were first thrown in for. We should not in the mean time forget that it is to this change made in the words *Gaill* and *Galic*, doubtless by our heathenish bards, who inserted the letter *d*, that we owe the important discovery necessarily reserved to their successors who embraced christianity, of those illustrious personages, *Gadel* and *Gadelus*: the former, an usher under that royal schoolmaster Phenius Farsa, king of Scythia, in his famous school on the plain of Senaar, where this Gadel invented the Irish alphabet and Gadelian language, so called, as it is pretended, from his name; and the latter a grandson of that king, by his son Niul, married to Scota, daughter of Pharaoh Cingris, as our bards call him, instead of Cinchres, king of Egypt.' 'And from this Gadelus, our learned bards gravely assure us, that the Irish derive their name of Gadelians, who, they tell us, were also called Scots,

right be called Scythians or Scuit[56] from Scythia, as the old English are called Goill from Gaul or France, whence they came.—'For this reason it is that the descendants of Fathachta, son of Magog, viz. Partholan, son of Seara, with his people, Neimheadh—Poetry, son of Aghnamhuin—Song, from whom the Nevians are denominated, the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha De Danánn are called the Greeks of Scythia, because they were originally from that country. In my opinion too, the reason why the descendants of *Gaodhal*, son of Niul,[57] son of Fenius

from his wife, the Egyptian princess Scota. This discovery, I have said, was necessarily reserved to our christian bards, as their heathenish predecessors most certainly could have no notion of the plain of Sennaar, of Pharaoh, or of Moses; objects not to be known but from the holy Scriptures, or some writings derived from them, such as those of Josephus, Philo, &c. never known to the Irish bards before their christianity. I have remarked in another work, not as yet published, that our christian bards did not lose much time in availing themselves of the sacred history to frame this story, inasmuch as we find it word for word in the scholiast on the life of St. Patrick by Fiachus, bishop of Sleipte, one of that saint's earliest disciples; which scholiast, the learned and judicious Colganus, places toward the end of the sixth century. This date is much earlier than that of the MS. called Leabhar Gabhala, or the book of conquests; wherein our story now mentioned is embellished with further circumstances."

[56] The undertaking of this noble son of the *real family of the Muse* evinces that nothing is impossible to a poet. This tribe, avowed to be a Scythian or Gothic one, has notwithstanding used the Celtic, and not the Gothic language, in all its peregrinations! The bard does not seem to have known the difference between those languages, or that the *Belgaid* or *Gothic* had been ever used in Ireland.—Vide Cod. Lecan. fol. 283.

[57] *Niul*, neul, *light*; neall, *noble*.

Farsuidh, are particularly called Scots, is because it was this Fenius Farsuidh and his posterity that obtained the sovereignty of Scythia; and that Niul the younger son of Fenius, came in for no division of territory, like the brothers of Fenius, who got possession of countries, whence they and their descendants were particularly denominated; on that account Niul enjoined his posterity to designate themselves from Scythia, by perpetually calling themselves Scots—Scuit; whereas they had possession of no territory, and Niul had no other property left him by his father, but the benefit of the sciences and various languages; leaving the undivided sovereignty of Scythia to his eldest son Nenual.'[58]

'Some Latin writers assert that Gaodhal was son of Argus or Cecrops, who was king of the Argives; but that cannot be the fact, because,—that line terminated about six hundred and sixty-seven years after the deluge; whereas—Hector Boetius, and all the books of conquests of Ireland, affirm that the Gaoidhil were in Egypt at the time that Moses ruled the children of Israel there. Moreover, the books of invasions inform

[58] Nenual—Nia-nual, a *noble champion*; niadh, a *champion*; néall, *noble*.—Keat. p. 219.

us, that about this time Scota, daughter of Pharaoh Cingcris, bore Gaodhal to Niul, son of Feniusa Farsuidh, son of Báath, son of Magog. The time that Moses began to govern the Israelites in Egypt was about seven hundred and ninety-seven years after the flood; and according to that computation there was about three hundred and forty-five years from the time of Argus, or Cecrops, till Gaodhal was born; so that it is impossible for Gaodhal to be a son of Argus or Cecrops.[59] Some assert that Scythia, according to Gailic etymology, signifies '*the land of thorns.*'[60]

The old translation of Keating's history informs us, that Niul, the second son of Fenius was sent abroad 'to improve himself in the seventy-two learned languages.[61]' This, in the late translation, is thus altered:—'Fenius, however, being determined, as we mentioned, to become skilled in the various languages, despatched at his own expense seventy-two persons of learning to the several countries of the three parts of the world, at that time inhabited, and commanded them to remain abroad for seven years, that each of them might learn the language of the country in which they were to reside.[62]'—

[59] Keating, p. 221. [60] Idem. [61] Idem, p. 31. [62] Idem, p. 225.

Upon their return, Fenius, sixty years after the building of the tower of Babel, or, according to others, two hundred and forty-two years after the flood, set out with them to the plain of Shenaar, near the city of Athens, bringing with him a great number of the Scythian youth. Fenius, having spent twenty years here, returned to Scythia and established seminaries of learning there, and appointed Gaodhal, son of Eathoir[63]—a Ship, as president over them. 'Fenius then commanded Gaodhal to regulate and digest the Gaoidhealg—Gailic, or Irish language into five dialects, as it now is, viz.—the béarla na Feine[64]—the Fenian or the Finnish language; bearla na ffileadh—poetic or bardic; bearla eadarscartha—the historic; bearla Teibhidhe—that of physicians; and, the gnath-bhearla—the common dialect; and to name them generally from himself: so that it is from Gaodhal, son of Eathoir, that it is called Gaoidhealg, and not from Gaodhal glas, as others imagine.[65]

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[63] Keating, p. 229.—Eathar, a *ship*.

[64] I conceive this to have been a mixture of the Sclavonic and Irish Celtic, which was probably used here by the Finnish militia or Finn-landers. See the history of the Finnish militia in a subsequent part of this work.

[65] Keating, p. 229.

Gaodhal is variously defined; Buchanan derives it from *gaothin*, noble, and *al*, all; i. e. the illustrious or all noble: others from the Hebrew *gadol*, great, on account of his great learning: some from *gaoith-dil*, which signify a lover of learning.[66]

Pharaoh Cingcris, king of Egypt, having heard of Niul's great learning, invited him to instruct the youth of that country. Niul accepted the invitation, and the king bestowed upon him the lands called Capaciront or Campus Cirit, near the red sea, and gave him in marriage his own daughter *Scota*.[67] Scota bore him a son, who was called *Gaodhal*.[68] It may appear strange, perhaps, to some that

[66] Keating, p. 231.

[67] This island, as I observed before, was previously wedded, under three denominations, to the three sons of Cearmoda. They were killed in the battle of Tailtean; but the widows still remained; or, in other words, the island still continued to be known under the three usual names, until the arrival of the Milesians, who, having killed those queens, abolished their names. By this supposed event the bard wished us to believe that they subdued the island. In compliment to his victors, he labours to revive her under a new appellation, which he traces to the immediate family of Heremon, *Oir Mumhan*—East Munster, the hero of his poem. And, not content with the mother of Niul being called *Scota*, and of royal descent, he bestows upon him a wife of the same name, and of a family equally illustrious.

[68] The bard, having informed us of the source from which Ireland was called *Scotia*, now tells us how the *Gaill*, whom he naturally represents as her offspring, acquired their name. In a subsequent part of this treatise I shall endeavour to prove that the latter name was coeval with the first colony in Ireland; and that both are derived from different sources.

Niul, who was the fifth descendant from Japhet, should be cotemporary with Moses, since it was the space of seven hundred and ninety-seven years from the deluge to the time that Moses took upon him the command of the children of Israel. But I answer that it is not incredible that Niul might have lived some hundred years, for in those ages men lived a long time.[69] During the time that Niul resided at Capaciront, the children of Israel escaped from Pharaoh and came to the red sea, where they encamped near Niul's residence. Niul went to inform himself who they were. Aaron met him outside the camp, and gave him an account of the children of Israel, and of Moses, &c. Mean time Niul and Aaron formed a mutual friendship; Niul told him that his corn and other provisions were entirely at his service. This offer of Niul was communicated by Aaron to Moses. The same night a serpent bit Niul's son, Gaodhal; but the wound was immediately healed by the application of the rod of Moses, who prophesied that wheresoever any of the posterity of this youth should inhabit, no venemous creature would have any power.

[69] Keating, p. 235.

This is fulfilled in Crete and in Ireland.—'Some historians assert that Moses locked the bracelet he had on his arm to the neck of Gaodhal, hence the epithet *glas*. Others derive it from the green colour of his armour. And from this Gaodhal or Gaodhal-glas, all the Gaodhil[70] are denominated.'—Niul informed Moses that Pharaoh's resentment would be directed against him for his favorable reception of him. Then Moses said, come with us, and if we reach the country which God hath prophesied for us, thou shalt get a share of it; or, if you choose we will give you Pharaoh's fleet,—and set out to sea in it. Niul took this determination. A thousand armed men were then sent to the shipping, and they were delivered into his power. He went on board, and the next day he saw the opening of the sea before

[70] This play upon the word *Gall*, the primitive appellation for a Gaul, a Briton, or Irishman, which in the plural is *Gaill*, is accounted for thus by Doctor O'Brien, p. 4 of his Dictionary, remarks on the letter A.—"The Irish bards or rhymers, wanting to stretch out this monosyllable *gaill* into two syllables to serve the exigency of their verses and rhythmical measures, have first formed it into *Gadbill*, agreeable to the former of the two rules now mentioned; and when the second rule, caol le caol, &c. took place, it required that an *i* or an *e* should be thrown in before the consonant *d*, by which means it turned out *Gaidbill*, or *Gaedbill*, instead of its simple original formation *Gaill*."

Moses, &c. and its closure upon Pharaoh and his host, by which they were drowned. They amounted to sixty thousand foot and fifty thousand horse, as Eachtgus O'Cuanain archdeacon of Roscrea—Rosa-cré, asserts in a poem, which begins thus:

"Whoever thou art that believe not truth."

Pharaoh Intur, the successor of Pharaoh Cingcris, remembered the old grudge to the descendants of Niul, i. e. the friendship they formed with the children of Israel. They then made violent war on the Gaodhil, who were thereby banished out of Egypt. Thomas Walsingham agrees with this, in the book called Hypodeigma; but Walsingham is not to be wholly credited, for it was not to Spain 'that a certain chieftain of the Scythian nation went, but to Scythia; and Hector Boetius also errs in asserting that this chieftain was Gaodhal: no, it was Eibhear Scot, the great grandson of Gaodhal who went to Scythia,—and it was the sixteenth generation from him, named Bratha, son of Deaghatha, that first reached Spain.[71] This account is proved from Giolla Caomhain, an antiquary. Eibhear's

[71] Keating, p. 243.

father *Sru*, was the leader of the expedition from Egypt till they reached the isle of Crete, where he died.' His son Eibhear Scot took the command of the people, amounting, according to Giolla Caomhain, to twenty-four men[72] with their wives, until they reached Scythia; and, wherefore, a certain author asserts, 'it was from his appropriate nickname, i. e. *Scot*, that the Gaodhil are called the Scotic race,' or the tribe or family of Scot. 'According, indeed, to a certain author, *Scot* signifies the same as *Archer*,—for in this time there was not a bowman superior to him; and from the nickname given him, the appellation attached to his posterity.' Keating however, disapproves of this opinion, 'because it is the general conception of antiquaries that the reason for calling the Gadelian race the *Scotic race*, is, that they came originally from Scythia.'[73]

When they reached Scythia, a war broke out between them and their relations, the descendants of Niul. This warfare continued

[72] Keating, p. 247, says, from the accounts of other antiquaries, that those emigrants amounted to one hundred and twenty persons, and that they reached Scythia from Egypt in four vessels, each containing thirty persons.

[73] Keating, p. 245.

for seven years, until *Agnon*, son of Tait, the fifth generation from Eibhear Scot downwards, happily killed his relative Refloir, of the race of Nenual—Noble Champion, who was then king of Scythia. The posterity of Gaodhal, however, were afraid of the collected forces of the sons of Refloir, and they consequently left the country in a body, passing the territory of the Seared Breasts, or Amazons, and arriving on the borders of the Caspian sea, took shipping and landed in an island of the Caspian where they remained a year. 'Their leaders on this expedition were Agnon and Eibhear, the great-great-grand-children of Eibhear Scot, who led them into Scythia. Agnon died in this island, but left three sons. Eibhear had two sons, Caichear and Cing.'[74] 'At the end of a year they left the island, the crews of three ships, and sixty persons in each ship, and every third man had a wife.[75] They were driven into an island called Caronia, in the Pontic sea, where they resided one year and three months. On emigrating thence, they met Syrens at sea, whose enchanting but fatal

[74] Gothic appellations, borrowed from the Eibhearni and Cauchi of Ptolemy

[75] Keating, p. 250.

music, Caichear, one of their leaders, prevented his people from hearing, by melting wax into their ears. During their voyage 'Caichear prophesied to them that no place was a settlement for them until they would reach Eirin; mentioning at the same time, that it must not be themselves, but their posterity that should arrive there. They emigrated thence to Gothia;' where they abode thirty years, and some of them remain there until this day. Some historians assert that they remained there one hundred and fifty years; others say three hundred years.[76]

Bratha,[77] a distant descendant of Eibhear Scot, emigrated from 'Gothia, near Crete and Sicily, to Spain, with the crews of four ships;' and their chiefs or leaders were Oige—Youth, Uige—Knowledge, the two sons of Allod—Antiquity, Mantán and Caichear.[78] There were fourteen married couples and six soldiers in each ship, (one hundred and thirty-six souls) 'and, upon landing, they defeated the race of Tubal, son of Japhet, who then inhabited the country, in three successive battles.'[79] However, a sudden plague seized the sons of Allod, so that they all died except

[76] Keating, p. 253. [77] *Spying.* [78] Belgic names. [79] Keating, p. 255.

ten. They grew up after, and Breoghan, son of Bratha, was born. This Breoghan was he who defeated the armies of Spain in many battles, raised or built Brigantia near Corunna, and Breoghan's tower in Corunna itself.'[80] This Breoghan had ten sons,[81] of whom one was called *Bi-le*. The son of this Bile was Galamh—Feats of Arms, a champion, usually named Milesius of Spain, from Mileadh—a soldier.[82] The old translation informs us that this Milesius engaged the Spaniards frequently and with success, for 'he almost made a conquest of the whole country,[83] and his Gadelians obtained some of the principal offices in the government.[84] —'A fancy seized him to go with a fleet, manned with Spanish youth, to Scythia, to visit his relations: he equips thirty ships.—He set out on the Mediterranean, and sailed directly N. E. by Sicily and Crete, until he reached Scythia,'[85] where he was graciously received by the king, who not only made

[80] Keating, p. 255.

[81] The names of mountains and plains in the north and south of Ireland have been collected into a catalogue, to furnish those sons with names.

[82] See the history of the Brigantes, in a subsequent part of this Work.

[83] Keating, p. 42.

[84] These achievements over the Spaniards are omitted in the late translation.

[85] Keating, p. 255.

him commander in chief of the Scythian army, but gave him in marriage his daughter *Seang*—Slender-waisted, who bore him two sons, Donn—a brown colour, and Aireach Feabhruadh—the hostile bloody conflict. At length the father-in-law became jealous of Milesius' military prowess, and in consequence plotted to put him to death; but Milesius—the Soldier, apprized of the intention, contrived to destroy his unnatural relative. Having effected his death, and his wife having died in Scythia, he put to sea with the crews of sixty ships, and set out straight into the Mediterranean, in which he pursued his course till he arrived at the mouth of the Nile. He sent an embassy to Pharaoh Nectonibus, from whom he received land of inheritance.

'There happened at this time a great war between Pharaoh and the king of Ethiopia. Pharaoh made Milesius marshal of his forces, and the latter defeated the Ethiopians in several engagements. Pharaoh, in recompense for his services, gave him his daughter *Scota* in marriage.

'She bore him two sons in Egypt, Eibhear fionn and Amhirgin.' And during his resi-

dence there, he got twelve of his young men instructed in the principal arts of Egypt.—'Milesius at length reflected that Caichear, the priest, had long before prophesied to his ancestor Laimh fionn—Fair hand, that it must be in Ireland his posterity must obtain established sovereignty.'[86] 'He then equipt sixty ships, supplies them with crews and takes his leave of Pharaoh.' He landed on an island bordering on Thrace. It is called Irena, and it is there that *Ir*,[87] son of Milesius, was born. He thence proceeds to an island called Gothia, in the straight leading into the north ocean,[88] and he delayed there some time; and there it was that Scota bore him a son, who was named Colpa,[89] the swordsman. They moved thence into the North strait which separates Europe and Asia, and passed on leaving Europe on the left, till they arrived at the land of the Picts, named

[86] Keating, p. 259.

[87] A name given to Ireland either by the Belgæ or Danes.

[88] By Gothia the bard probably meant Goth-land, an island of the Baltic on the east coast of Sweden; but as I am ignorant of the strait, mentioned in a few subsequent lines, which separates Europe from Asia, and of any course east of Europe, which could bring this family to Alba or Caledonia without sailing round the world, I submit this navigation to those, who may wish to amuse themselves with our bardic knowledge of geography.

[89] Colpa or Colbdi, the ancient name of the harbour of Drogheda.

Alba. They spoiled the border of this country, and proceeded after that, leaving Great Britain on the right, till they arrived at the mouth of the river Rhine; and S. W. with their left to France, and landed at length in Biscay. On his arrival 'his relations came to welcome Mileadh and disclose to him that the Gothi and many other foreigners were harassing the country and all Spain.' In consequence of this information, 'Milesius assembled his own adherents throughout Spain, marched at their head with the forces of the fleet he had led to the country, against the Gothi and foreigners, whom he defeated in fifty-four battles, so as to expel them out of Spain.'[90] The old translation of Keating adds: 'by this means Milesius and his relations, who were the family of Breogan,[91] the son of Bratha, became masters of almost the whole kingdom of Spain.' Milesius

[90] Keating, p. 281.

[91] Idem, p. 48. From this and similar passages in Keating's history, it appears that the Milesians, who were called *clanna, or sliocht Bhreogáin*, were the Brigantes of Ptolemy; whom Ortelius fixes W. of Dublin, Ware in Waterford, Mercator in the S. E. part of Ireland, and the Irish bards in Leinster and Connacht. The latter sites, including Aoibh Breogain, or the present county of Waterford, and Magh Breatha in Meath, comprehend the first and subsequent settlements of the Brigantes, and of their allies and contemporary settlers, the Cenna-cangi of the county Clare.

had thirty-two sons, of whom Scota bore two, Eibhear in Egypt, and Eireamhon[92] in Galicia; the remainder in other foreign countries.

A scarcity of corn having happened during twenty-six years in Spain, on account of the great drought of the seasons, the family of Breogan reflected upon the numerous conflicts which occurred between them and the Gothi, the prediction of the Druid Caichear; and, entering into consultation, they determined upon despatching *Ith* — Corn, the son of Breogan, in quest of the West isle. Some think '*Ith* discovered the island in a starry winter night, with a telescope,[93] from the top

[92] The bard, having been ignorant of the real leaders of the Belgæ and of the Brigantes, adopts the name of the principal Belgic tribe, the *Eibhearni*, to designate a feigned chieftain; and that of East Munster, *Ur* or *Oir Mumhan* corrupted into *Eir-eamhon*, in which a fortress had been erected, to denote a fictitious chieftain of the Brigantes. The bard having been equally ignorant of the supposed father of those heroes, denominates him either *Galamh*, which signifies *a warrior*, — or *Milcadh*, *a soldier*; and, not having known that the Eibhearni were a Belgic tribe, and the Brigantes a Celtic one, he not only blends those distinct families into one, but deduces both from the same immediate lineage. The predominance of the Belgæ over the Celts of Ireland may, notwithstanding the blunder committed by the bards, in denominating the Brigantes a Scythian tribe, be inferred from the frequent mention of those Gothic names, Scota, Eibhear, Amhirgin, Caichear, &c. and from their conspicuous figure in Irish history.

[93] The improbability of this story would have destroyed its credit, if it were not revived by the Rev. Mr. O'Conor, who informs us through Strabo,

of the tower of Brigantia; but it appears the inhabitants of both countries were known to each other long before Ith was born,' in consequence of *Eochaidh*,[94] the last king of the Fir Bolg, and son of Erc, having married Taillte, daughter of Magh-mor—the large plain, king of Spain. 'They used then on either side to practise traffic and commerce,

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that in a wonderful insulated tower in Spain, called the oracle of Menestheus, the infracted rays of light, as if diffused into pipes, were magnified. In a note it is added, that this Menestheus was a general of the Athenians, in the Trojan war, who, on his return to Athens, was banished; and that he passed into Spain.—Rerum Hibern. script. vet. c. O'Conor, p. 50.—Plutarch, however, on the contrary, informs us, that on Menestheus' return from the war of Troy, he died in the isle of Melos in the Archipelago, A. M. 2871. It is therefore probable, as the primitive Celts of Gaul and Spain were an unlettered people, that the tower in question had been erected by, or in honor of, some other Menestheus, and in an age posterior to his. The Psalter of Cashel is quoted, through Keating, by Mr. O'Conor; but Keating did not believe a word of the assertion; nor does Strabo insinuate that an object could be seen over the convexity of the sea, at a distance of one hundred and fifty leagues. It is by no means improbable that the author of the Psalter of Cashel, or some previous Irish writer, had taken the hint from the account of Strabo.

[94] I am of opinion that the name *Vodii* or *Udii*, applied to that Belgic sept, which occupied part of the county Cork in the second century, was given by Ptolemy in imitation of some *Eochaidh*, (pronounced *Eoby* or *Yoby*) who was their king. Keating seems to confirm the truth of this supposition, by informing us that the province of one of them, who was called *Eochaidh Abhradh-ruaidh*, extended from Cork to Limerick, and thence eastward, to the meeting of the three waters, or the *abhan Eireann* at Waterford. And, as an additional corroboration, the old translation of Keating, p. 6, informs us that one of those Eochaidh's was surnamed *Mumho*, implying that his territory was situated in Munster.

and an exchange of their wares and valuables one with another; so that the Spaniards knew Eirin, and the Irish were acquainted with Spain.'[95]

'Ith then prepared a ship, and it was manned with one hundred and fifty picked men; and sailed until they arrived in the north of Ireland,' at *Magh Ithe*.[96] 'As Ith landed, he sacrificed to Neptune. On this, some of the natives came, who conversed him in the Scotic language, i.e. in Gaoidhealg —Gailic, or Irish; and he answered them in the same tongue, and said, that he was descended of Magog, as they were themselves, and that the Scotic language was his native tongue.' 'The historians, according to this passage in the Book of Conquests, assert that the Scotic language, called Gaoidhealg—Gailic, was the native tongue of Neimheadh —Poetry, and his people, and consequently of the Fir Bolg—Belgæ, and also of the Tuath De Danann'—Damni. For Gaodhal son of Eathaoir—a Ship, instructed the Scythian youth, in the public schools, before Neimheadh—Poetry, began his voyage from

[95] Keating, p. 263.

[96] Magh Ithe, the plain of corn; a territory in the county London-Derry.

Scythia to Ireland; and the Irish tongue was the common language in Scythia, when Neimheadh came thence.'[97] Richard Creagh, primate of Ireland, in his book concerning the origin of the Gaelic and the Gaoidhil, says, 'the Gaelic has been constantly used in Ireland since the arrival of Neimhead, six hundred and thirty years after the flood, until this day.'

Ith was informed that the island was called *Inis Ealga*—the noble Island, and governed by three princes, sons of Chearmada milbheoil—the honey-mouthed human offspring, who were then quarrelling in Ulster about a number of jewels, (wealth, in the late translation) which were left them in gavel. Ith marched with one hundred Gadelians to meet them; was courteously received and chosen umpire. On taking leave, however, he was suspected of a design to invade the island, and in consequence, Mac Coill—the son of the log or forest, was sent in pursuit with a force of one hundred and fifty men. A desperate battle was fought between them at Magh Ithe—the plain of corn, or at

[97] Consequently, the Goths were not Goths! Keating p. 265.

Droimlighear, according to others. Ith died of his wounds upon his return, and Milesius died in Spain.[98]

The Milesians collected a force for the invasion of Ireland, and to revenge the murder of Ith. The total of their fleet was thirty ships, in each of which there were thirty warriors, besides their wives and attendants. The number of chieftains was forty, as we are informed by Eochadh ua Floinn, in a poem beginning with

'The captains of the fleet that o'er the main,' &c.

Their denominations taken from the names of mountains in Ulster, Leinster and Munster, are given by Keating; and among them I find the following ones, which, I believe, are all Gothic; viz. Seadhgha, Fulman, Mantan, Caichear, Siurge, Er, Orba, Fearann, Feargna, En, Un, Eatan, Goistean, Sobhairce, Eibhear, Aimhirgin and Ir.

Keating thinks the Brigantes of Britain descended from the family in Ireland, which

[98] Keating, p. 265. The retrograde genealogy to Noah follows, and is traced, according to holy Cormac Mac Cuileannain, from Galamh—a Champion, through Celtic names signifying trees, plains, pitched battles, champions, slaughter, antiquity, fair knees and white hands, &c.

accounts for the many words of the same signification that are to be found in British and Irish: he also informs us, that 'the Britons copied after the Irish, not only in their language, but in many of the polite customs and manners of that illustrious people.'[99]

Their fleet arrived at Inmhear Slainge,[100] or Wexford harbour, thirteen hundred years before the birth of Christ, according to the chronology of Polychronicon, Cormac Mac Cuileannain and the Book of Invasions. The Tuatha De Danann assembled, and threw a magic mist over them, so that they imagined the island had the appearance of a pig's back, and hence Ireland is sometimes named *Hog Island*. The sons of Mileadh were then driven from the shore by the spells of the Tuatha De Danann, till they went round Ireland, and landed at Inmhear Sceine—the estuary of Kenmare, and, after they came ashore, they marched to Sliabh Mis, where

[99] Keating, old trans. p. 50. Yet the manners and customs of the Britons in the time of Julius Cæsar were those of savages; and in that of Tacitus, they were indebted to the Romans, and particularly to Agricola, for that degree of civilization which they then enjoyed.

[100] The very name of this harbour is presumptive evidence that the Milesian poem was written after the seventh century; for in the second it was called Modonus by Ptolemy, and in the seventh, Moda by St. Adamnan.

Banba and a beautiful train of ladies and their Druids met them. 'Aimhirgin asked her name: Banba is my name, said she, and it is from me this island is called Banba. Hence they moved to Sliabh Eibhlinne,[101] where Fodhla met them. 'Aimhirgin asked her name: my name is Fodhla, said she, and from me the country is called Fodhla. They thence moved to Uisneach[102] in Meath, and here they were met by *Eire*. The sage asked her name: my name is Eire, said she, and from me this country is called Eire. These were the three wives of the sons of Cearmada.'[103] The sons of Mileadh moved thence to Teamhair, where they were met by the three sons of Cearmada, at the head of their enchanted host. The sons of Mileadh demanded battle or a right settlement respecting the country, from the sons of Cearmada. They answered, that they would abide the decision of their own brother Aimhirgin, but declared, that if he would pronounce a false one, they would destroy him by magic. His decision was, that they should go back to the harbour of Sceine or Slaine, embark and

[101] A mountain in Munster. [102] The county Longford. [103] Keating, p. 321.

set out nine waves to sea; and that if they should effect a landing in spite of the Tuatha De Danánn, they should have the command of the country. This proposal was agreed to, and the Milesians complied with the injunction. The Druids of the Tuatha De Danánn 'raised a violent storm by magic, which desperately agitated the sea, and Donn, son of Mileadh, pronounced that it was a magical wind; yes, says Amhirgin.'[104] The storm destroyed Donn's ship, in which one hundred and four souls perished. Ir was also drowned, and buried in Sceilg Mhichil.[105] Eireamhón steered to Inmhear Colpa—Drogheda harbour, so called in commemoration of Colpa the swordsman, son of Mileadh, who was drowned there. Eibhear and his division of the fleet landed at Inmhear Sceine —the estuary of Kenmare—Cean mhara. In three days after landing, he met *Eire* the wife of Mac Gréine—the Son of the Sun, on Sliabh Mis,[106] 'where fell Fás, wife of Un,

[104] Keating, p. 291.

[105] Idem. p. 293—'whose shallow surface,' according to the old translation, 'forcibly attracts every bird that flies over it.' The name of this rock, which was dedicated to Michael the Arch-angel, is a corroborating proof that the Milesian story was invented after the introduction of the Christian religion in Ireland.

[106] A mountain within seven miles of Tralee. Its summit is distinguished by a fortification called *Gatbair Conraidh*, which is supposed to be more than two thousand one hundred feet above the level of the bay. It

son of Ughe; and from her the vale of Sliabh Mis is named Glean Fàis.'[107] 'In the same battle fell *Scota*, the wife of Milcadh; and it is at the north of this vale she is buried, on the sea side.' The Gaoidhil in this battle sustained a loss of three hundred soldiers, but they killed one thousand of the Tuatha De Danánn, and entirely routed their army. 'Eight ladies of quality also died at this time, among whom was Scéine, from whom the estuary of Kenmare was called; and Fial, wife Lughadh, son of Ith, died through shame, because her husband had seen her naked after returning from swimming: hence the river has been known ever since by the name of Inmhear Feile.'[108]

Eibhear's forces marched on to Inmhear Colpa, and joined Eireamhon's. The combined army challenged the Tuatha De Danánn

is composed of loose stones, forming a rude wall fifteen feet in thickness, and in some parts nine in height. The wall runs about fifteen hundred feet diagonally across the summit, from one extremity to the other, forming with the verges of the hill an irregular triangle, within which the inaccessible parts of the mountain are included. About the centre of the wall, two passages, each about eleven feet wide, which, I suppose, were gateways, are left open;—and inside the wall, six or eight square pits may be observed: these, my guide informed me, were, within his recollection, twelve in number. This rude building is by some of the bards called a *palace*.

[107] This lady is still commemorated by the inhabitants of a village situate at the base of Sliabh Mis. They say she was buried in a neighbouring churchyard, called Cill Elrain.

[108] Keating, p. 297.

and they came to an engagement at Tailtean, where the sons of Cearmada were entirely routed. Mac Gréine—the son of the sun, was slain by Ainnhirgin, Mac Coill—son of a log or wood, by Eibhear, and Mac Ceacht—son of the ploughshare, by Eireamhon—East Munster. Their three queens were also killed, namely Eire, Fodhla and Banba; three names of Ireland.

The remains of the Tuatha De Danann having been banished, Ireland became the property of the Milesians.[109] The bards are unanimous in opinion, that it was divided between two of the sons of Mileadh; but do not agree in the division. Some assign the north of Ireland from the Boyne—Boinn,[110] to Eireamhon—East Munster, and the south from the Boyne[111] to Eibhear (the Ibearni of Ptolemy.) This division is objected to by

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[109] Keating, p. 201.

[110] O'Halloran's Hist. of Ireland, Introd. V. II. p. 102, or according to the Book of Invasions, Psalter of Cashel, Giolla Coamhain and Torna Eigis, from Aisgear Riada, the commercial causeway, to the north extremity of Ireland.

[111] Or, according to the above authorities, from Aisgear Riada southward; including the county Clare, and the other counties south of that line of road which extended from Galway to Dublin. The tradition of the first settlement of the Belgæ in Ireland, is thus recorded; and also in other parts of Keating's history, in which we are informed, that two provinces of Munster, which were called *Deisiol Eirionn*, or the south of Ireland, were assigned to Eibhear.

Keating and others, because Eireamhon was known to possess the provinces of Leinster and Connacht. In confirmation of it, the royal palace of Eireamhon, which was called Rath Beathaidh, was situate at Airgeadrois, upon the side of the river Nore—Eoire, in Ossory—Osruighe. 'The province of Ulster was assigned to Eibhear, son of Ir, son of Mileadh, and to some other Milesian chiefs; and the district of Corcalughaidh in Desmond —Deas-Mumhan, to Lughaidh, son of Ith. The province of Ulster[112] was also known to be occupied by Rúghráidhe, son of Sithríghe, a descendant of Eibhear, son of Ir. Hence the name of Clanna Rúghráidhe is given to the real Ultonians, and all their descendants, who went into the different provinces for the sake of conquest; for instance the expedition of the Clanna Rúghràidhe into Leinster, i.e. the descendants of Conuill Chéarnuigh, who went into Leix–Laoighis; the posterity of Feargusa Mac Roigh, who settled in Conmhacne in Conacht, and in Corcamruadh and Kerry—Ciaruídhe, in Munster; the family of Dwyer —Duibhidhir, of the race of Cairbre Cluith-

[112] This division alludes to the tradition of the emigration of the Eibhearni of Ptolemy from the south to the north of Ireland.

eachair, son of Conchorb, &c. who came from Leinster into Munster.' 'But it was long after Eibhear and Eireamhon had divided Ireland, that these tribes removed from their own countries into other parts of the island. It is evident also, that it was in the time of Muireadhaig Thírigh, that the three *Colla*, with their relations, went from Conacht to seek settlements in Ulster, where they seized upon a great part of the province Mourne, viz.—Modharn or Mor rinn, Ui mac Uais and Ui Chriomhthainn, where many of their posterity still remain; as Reginald—Raghnall, earl of Antrim, the Maguires—Maghuidhir, Mac Mahons—Magh-mathghamhna, OHanlon's—Ua Hanluain, with their several branches.' 'The descendants of Cormac Gaileang, who were some of the posterity of Eibhear, came into Conacht, namely, the Gailenga, the Looneys—Luighne, from whom the O'Haras—Ua Heaghra, and the O'Garas—Ua Gadhra.'[113]

Five of the principal chieftains attended Eireamhon—East Munster, or the Brigantes, to his part of the country. Five also went

[113] Keating, p. 305.—This part of the bardic history throws considerable light upon the conquests and emigration of the Belgic septs.

with Eibhear (the Iberni of Ptolemy), namely Caichear, Mantan, Eun, Oige and Fulman.[114]

'Eibhear and Eireamhon reigned for one year, till a dispute arose between them about the possession of the three most fertile hills in Ireland.'[115] In this battle Eibhear was defeated. During Eireamhon's reign Caicher was slain by Ainhirgin; and the year after the latter was murdered by his brother Eireamhon, who in three years after killed Fulman and Mantan.[116]

'Some antiquaries assert, that it was Eireamhon that divided Ireland into four provinces after the death of Eibhear. First, he gave the province of Leinster to Chrionthain Seathbhéal, a nobleman of the Fir Bolg;—

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[114] The Gothic tribes which settled in the south and south-east of Ireland were in some period of the Belgic history probably known to the Celts by those names; for they agree exactly in point of number with Ptolemy's Belgic tribes or septs. His amount to seven; those of the bards to six, beside the Lagéd na Sionna, or the Belgæ of the Shannon, and all nearly agree in names. I suppose the *Cauci* to be meant by the appellation Caichear; the *Menapii* by Mantan; the *Iberni* by Eibhear; the *Vodii* or *Uodii* by Eochaidh (pronounced Hoky); the *Luceni* or *Lucterenses* by the Luighna Sionna. The *Coriondi* were probably known by the name of a chieftain, Fulman, and also by Corunnaighs and the *Velabori* or *Vel-i-ber-i* (a sept of the Iberni) by that of another chieftain, Eun, and by the appellation Siol Ebhir. In another part of this history I shall endeavour to account for the difference of opinion which prevailed among the bards relative to the division of territories.

[115] Keating, p. 397. [116] Idem, p. 398.

the province of Munster to the four sons of Eibhear, namely, Er, Orba, Feoronn and Fearguna; the province of Conacht to Un, (son of Uige) and to Eatan, two chiefs who attended him from Spain; the province of Ulster in like manner he left to Eibhear, his brother Ir's son.'[117]

It was in the reign of Eireamhon that the Cruitnigh—Picts, a people of Thrace, according to Cormac Mac Cuileanáin, arrived, not in the north of Ireland, as Bede asserts, but in Wexford harbour. Except a few, who settled at Breaghmaigh in Meath, they were compelled to steer to Caledonia, by Eireamhon.[118]

After a reign of fourteen years, Eireamhon died in Rath Beathaidh, on the bank of the Nore—Eoir,[119] at Airgeadrois, and A. M. 2752, his three sons, Muimhne—Munster, Luighne—Barony of Leny, and Laighne—Leinster, possessed the sovereignty. *Munster* died, and *Leny* and *Leinster* were slain in the third year by the sons of Eibhear.[120] A.M. 2755 'Eun, Orba, Fearan and Fearguna, the four sons of Eibhear, held the sovereignty

[117] Keating, p. 313. [118] Idem, p. 313.
[119] Trans. of the Royal Irish Acad. V. 13. Mixt. of Fable and Fact, p. 15.
[120] Keating, p. 313.

of Ireland but one year, and were slain by Irial the prophet.'

A.M. 2786, Conn maol—C. the bald, son of Eibhear, ruled thirty years. He was the first king of the line of Eibhear, and fought twenty-five battles against the race of Eireamhon; in each of which, according to the old translation, he proved victorious.[121]

The remainder of Keating's history is taken up, by way of episode, with the bursting forth of rivers and lakes, and the clearing plains from trees. Battles are stated to have been fought between the descendants of Heber and Heremon, generally with alternate success, although the power of the latter was diminished by the defection of a party of the Brigantes, who went over to Heber, or the Eibhearni; by the departure of a great number whom Heremon sent with the Tuatha De Danann, and the Picts, into Scotland—Caledonia; and by the banishment of others.[122] The theatre of war extended chiefly from Conacht through Munster to Leinster.

[121] Keating, p. 63.

[122] p. 105. The old translation informs us, that the Milesian soldiery in process of time degenerated into a barbarous and rebellious race. They were not only seditious but inhuman toward their princes; for 'which practices, the monarchs by degrees weeded them out of the kingdom.'

Such is the History of Ireland, as it is faithfully compiled from Bardic Songs. Though clouded with fable, a glimmering light appears through the obscurity of the narration, which illumines a considerable part of Ptolemy's map of Ireland. The mixture of fable evinces the simple and uneducated state of the human mind in those days of barbarism. And the obscurity of the relation may be accounted for, from the circumstance of the bardic history having commenced long after the planting of the first tribes, when their tradition became confused both as to the time of emigration and the countries whence they came. The confusion was also increased by different bards having, from time to time, resumed the history, revised and altered it, according to the taste of the times and the vanity of their patrons.

Keating informs us[123] that at one period the poets and bards of Ireland amounted to one thousand, two hundred in number; and surely the population must have been very

[123] p. 14 and 50.

thin, when they are said to have constituted a third of the inhabitants of this isle. Every chieftain retained a certain number of them to record the actions of his family, and each principal bard commanded a retinue of thirty poetic dependants. This author adds,[124] that the houses of bards were considered as sanctuaries: their persons were sacred, their property inviolable, exempt from plunder and taxes. And notwithstanding the enjoyment of lands in fee simple, and the privilege of being billeted upon the inhabitants, from All-hallow-tide till May, they were paid for every poem they composed by those who employed them. Their idleness and avarice, joined probably with their disgusting adulation and satire, provoked the people at different times to petition for their banishment.

The first settlers in Ireland were *Gaill*,—a name generally spelled *Gaoill*. They were savages unacquainted with agriculture, and probably ignorant even of the use of clothes. —They occupied temporary wretched huts within their *duns* or fortresses, whose ramparts were raised upon hills, or in the bosom of woods. While this infant society lived in

[124] Keating, p. 54.

the interior of this island, and wandered about with their herds and flocks, according as some parts became depastured and others invited to fertile plains, some time must have elapsed before bards could be encouraged to describe their petty chieftains as a highly polished, martial and enlightened race; still less to celebrate their ancestry.

In process of time, however, herds and flocks increased in number; population grew apace, property became of value, and commerce was managed by the commutation of wares. The idle, ambitious and needy coveted the possessions of the wealthy. The right of *meum et tuum* was decided by the sword, and the victorious chieftain seized upon the herds and territories of the vanquished. The abundance of food thus obtained, and the want of specie, must have naturally produced hospitality; and those guests were preferred, who, in poetic strains, were best qualified to clothe vice with the garb of virtue, and who possessed the knack of speciously deducing the lineage of savage chiefs from fictitious celebrated heroes, or renowned kings. The chief merit of Irish metrical composition seemed to consist not

in the narration of probability or truth, but in supernatural achievements, or in extravagant panegyric; and the expected applause of the auditory operated as a premium for fiction and rhapsody.

In gleaning facts from such productions, the Irish historian must have some beacon in view—a sort of polar star to guide reason through this wild and pathless region of romance. And it fortunately happens that the light reflected from the east, through Cæsar's Commentaries, Tacitus' Life of Agricola, the Map of Ptolemy, and the works of other foreign writers, blending with the rays twinkling from our bardic history, tend to dissipate that almost general darkness which concealed the first settlers in this isle. Richard of Cirenchester, a priest of the fourteenth century, one of the most learned historians of his time, has also contributed considerably to its evanescence. These and other writers afford materials which are, for the most part, developed in the laborious researches of Whitacre and Ledwich; two divines who, guided by this combined illumination, have in the investigation of truth, opened new views to the eye of the historian.

To enable the reader to judge indulgently of this novel attempt to reconcile the bardic Irish tribes to those of Ptolemy, the author hopes it will be considered that Ptolemy was a Greek writer, who had acquired his knowledge of Ireland through Roman traders. And, consequently, his attempts to convey the Celtic and Gothic pronunciation of the names of tribes cannot be expected to be free from error. However, making due allowance for his opportunities of information, the denominations may be truly said to be, like the outline of his map, surprisingly accurate.

An Inquiry

CONCERNING THE

PRIMITIVE INHABITANTS

OF

IRELAND.

IRELAND, one of the denominations of this island, is a compound word, composed of the Gothic syllables *ir* and *land;* of which the first syllable is probably a Gothic imitation of the Celtic *iar* or *er*—the west.[125] It might have received this appellation, which is less ancient than the name *Eire* or *Eirin*, from its Belgic inhabitants, among whose family, the Danes, Norwegians and Anglo-Saxons, it was anciently the usual appellative and is still continued. *Eire* or *Eirin*, the

[125] In the Annals of Inisfallen, which were compiled in the thirteenth century, Ireland is called *Er*.

primitive appellation, which is yet in use among those inhabitants who converse in Irish, is that by which it is designated by the most ancient foreign writers who have noticed this island. It is composed of *iar* or *er*—the west, and of *i* or *in*—an island.[126] And this name was probably given by those Celtic emigrants from Britain, who had first settled in Ireland, and ascertained its insular state, as well as its relative position.

The most ancient foreign authors who mention Ireland, are Julius Cæsar and Diodorus Siculus.[127] The former calls it Hibernia, a word latinized in imitation of *aoibh* or *ibh-eir-in*—the territory of the west isle. It is pronounced *eev-er-in*; but with an aspirate and Latin termination, it probably sounded to foreign ears thus, *Heev-er-nia* or *Hee-ber-nia*. Dionysius Periegetes, in the third year, and Strabo, about the year 20 of the Christian æra, term it Ιερνη—I-er-ne. Pomponius Mela, A. D. 44, and Juvenal, A. D. 82, call it

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[126] Vid. the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Mixt. of Fable and Fact, V. XIII, Part I, p. 6.

[127] As to the pretended quotations from Himilco the Carthaginian, they may be at least doubted. The work ascribed to Orpheus of Crotona, is certainly spurious; and Aristotle's treatise, *De Mundo*, is supposed to have been written about the reign of Augustus.

Juv-er-na,[128] apparently in imitation of the Celtic pronunciation, *ibh* or *eev-er-in*—the country of Er-in. In the second century, Ptolemy calls it Ιουερνια—Iv-er-ni-a; in the third, Marcianus Heracleotes denominates it Iuv-er-ni-a, and in the fourth, Claudian calls it I-er-ne. Most of those writers seem to have been led into error by Cæsar, who was the first that introduced the consonant *n* in the penultimate syllable. By Dioscorides, an author of the first century, it is properly denominated Hib-er-i, and in the epistle to Caroticus, which is ascribed to St. Patrick, Ibh-eir-i-a.

Considering the rude and ill-shaped vessels of antiquity, the infant state of navigation, the distance of other countries from Eirin, it is unlikely that this remote west isle had received its early inhabitants from any country farther distant than Gaul. On the other hand, it may be fairly inferred, from the vicinity of Britain to Eirin, the abundant population of the former island in the time of Julius Cæsar, its state of government, the consequent frequency of internal war, conjoined with the shifting pastoral life of its Celtic inhabitants[129]

[128] Sat. 2, l. 3.

[129] Cæs. de bel. Gal. l. 5, s. 14. Interiores plerique frumenta non serunt sed lacte et carne vivunt.

and with their ignorance of agriculture and of the arts, that the first settlers in Eirin were a part of the redundant population of Britain. These tribes arrived here either in quest of pasture for their cattle, or as fugitives from the devastation of war. Those reasons considered with the savage character, which ancient foreign writers bestow upon Ireland, induce me to believe that they had emigrated from Britain even earlier than the Rev. Mr. Whitaker asserts. And, as we have no authentic map of Eirin prior to the second century of the Christian æra, nor any authentic account of its inhabitants, prior to the first century before the Incarnation, it necessarily follows, if this supposition be well grounded, that those first settlers are unknown to history.

In ages after the British Gaill had planted themselves in Eirin, this isle received other tribes, which differed from them in language, manners and customs. And as some of these emigrated from Gaul, which was chiefly occupied with Celtic inhabitants, it becomes necessary to notice their relative situation, prior to the Roman invasion of that country. Without indulging in conjecture, or relying

implicitly upon the accounts of ancient historians, it may be safely asserted, that both the Celts and Goths had in very remote times emigrated from the east toward the west.[130] The Celtæ moved first, the Goths followed in the rear; and these, it appears, were pursued by the Sclavi or Venedi, a family[131] which differed from the latter, in language and manners, as widely as the latter were, in these respects, dissimilar from the first. The Celts continued their emigration until they arrived in the west of Europe, where they planted themselves in Gaul and Spain. The Goths took possession of Germany, whence they sent colonies throughout Scandinavia, Denmark, Iceland, the Orkneys, &c. Prior

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[130] These families, though distinct, are confounded in Grecian and Roman history. Thus; the inhabitants of Germany are not only denominated *Celts*, which was the proper name of the Gauls; but both are absurdly called *Cimbri*, after a small Gothic tribe, which occupied part of the peninsula of Jutland. *Cimber* signifies in Gothic *a robber*, and as the Teutones and Gauls were probably competitors in plundering acts, they acquired the name of the most distinguished robbers. The Rev. Mr. Whitaker, from the affinity of names, considers the Sicambri, who were seated in Geldria, as a Cimbric Sept; but these were a German tribe, known from others by the name of *fighters for victory; sigh*, victory, *camper*, a combatant. The ancients, in the opinion of Mr. Pinkerton, were unacquainted with the north beyond the 52°; and they were so ignorant of the manners and languages of the Goths and Celts as to believe both to be the same people.

[131] Among other nations the Russians are descendants of those Sclavonians.

to the invasion of Gaul by Julius Cæsar, the Rhine separated those two great nations from each other. The Celtæ, Geltæ, Caill or Gaill, synonimous appellations, which, as Mr. Whitaker asserts, probably mean *wood-landers*, occupied at first all Gaul; but in the time of Julius Cæsar, the Belgæ, Gothic tribes from Germany, were seated upon the west bank of that river, which they wrested from the Celts, probably long before his arrival.

As Gaul became populous, and land of value, some tribes became powerful at the expense of others. The result of frequent wars enabled the strong to seize upon the possessions of the weak, who, in consequence, were compelled to seek territories elsewhere. The narrow straits of Dover invited those unhappy fugitives, as well as those, who led an errant pastoral life, to an island presenting pasture and abounding with game. There the only enemies, to contest dominion, were probably the wild beasts which reposed within the umbrage of extensive forests. Such an island, so contiguous to a country abundantly stocked with inhabitants, could not long remain unexplored. And the fact is evinced,

among other circumstances, by the populous state of Britain; by the ignorance of its inhabitants, with regard to their ancestry,[132] and by the occupation of Eirin in the time of Julius Cæsar.

A variety of circumstances enable us to trace the Gallic posterity into Britain. The similarity of genius,[133] the Celtic cunning, curiosity, credulity, and desire of novelty; the same rashness in running into danger, the same consternation when in it.[134] Both originally wore their hair long, and a beard upon the upper lip. Their languages were similar, their religion and superstitious rites the same.[135] The form of their houses was rotund.[136] Their implements of husbandry and arms, including the military chariot, whose wheels were armed with scythes, were

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[132] Tac. Agric. S. 11. Ceterûm Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum.

[133] Strab. Geog. v. 1. p. 305. Ingenio Gallorum partim similes sunt.

[134] Tac. Agric. S. 11. In deposcendis periculis eadem audacia, & ubi advenere, in detractandis eadem formido.—Et Strabo, p. 302. de Gallis loquens:—intolerabiles sunt ubi vincunt, & ubi vincuntur, plané consternatis.

[135] Tac. Agr. S. 11. Eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasione; sermo haud multum diversus.

[136] Cæs de bel. Gal. l. 5. S. 10,—creberrimaque ædificia feré Gallicis consimilia. And Strabo, speaking of the Gauls: domos e tabulis & cratibus construunt rotundas.

the same in both countries.[137] But the Britons were clad in skins,[138] and were more simple and barbarous,[139] because they emigrated before their Celtic and Belgic ancestors had better clothing, and before the Gauls were partly civilized by the Greeks of Marseilles, and the Romans of Narbonne.

Beside those corresponding circumstances, which evince the identity of family, the traditional names by which they were known to their neighbours, may be adduced as corroborating evidence. The Germans, who substituted the letter *w* for *g*, always called those Gauls, who occupied the west side of the Rhine, *Wallish*, — a denomination equivalent with *Gallish*, a word corrupted from *Gaill*. They even bestowed the same name upon their own countrymen the *Long-beards*, because they happened to settle in Gallia Transalpina, since denominated after them, Lombardy; a territory which previously belonged to the Gauls. Those

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[137] Whit. Manches.—The Gauls were indebted to the Persians, probably through the Greeks of Marseilles, for this military chariot.

[138] Cæs. de bel. Gal. l. 5. S. 10,—pellibusque sunt vestiti.

[139] Strab. Geog. V. I. p. 305,—partim simpliciores & magis barbari, adeo ut quidam eorum ob imperitiam caseos nullos conficiant, cum tamen lacte abundent.

Long-beards had, in consequence of famine, been expatriated the north of Germany about A. D. 384. Those Saxons also, who occupied part of the coast of the Cimbric Chersonesus, called the opposite Britons, whom the north sea separated from them, *Wallish*, or *Brit-Wallish*, when they wished to discriminate them from other Gauls; and they nominated the island *Brit-Wallish-land*. And, after they subdued the Britons, and drove those, who had not previously emigrated from the island, into Wales and Corn-wall,[140] they still continued the ancient denomination of *Wallish* or *Weallas*, for those fugitives,—and that of Weallas-land and Corn-weallas, afterward contracted into Wales and Corn-wales, for those mountainous districts. The Belgæ of the Netherlands also called the French tongue *Wals*, and the inhabitants of Henalt and Artois were nominated Wallen or Wallons, and their provinces Wals-land;—names synonimous with *Gals*, *Gallen*, *Gallons* or *Gaill*. On the other hand, the Gothic letter *w* is changed

[140] Trans. of the Royal Irish Acad. V. 13. On the Mixt. of Fable and Fact, p. 27.—Cornwall was anciently denominated *Domnonia* from the Damnonii or Belgic tribes who occupied it. On their emigration to Ireland that territory seems to have been left vacant.

in old French into *g* or *gu*; hence the word *ward* was expressed by gard, *warre*, guerre, *Weallas*, Gaulles, *Corn-weallas*, Cornugaulles,[141] &c.

This primitive denomination *Gaill* or *Caill*, which we have already traced through all the points of the compass, from south to north, and from east to west, was transported to Eirin with the British Celtic posterity. Here the only change, which a long course of centuries effected in it among the Irish and Alban Scots, consists only in the substitution of *e* for *i*. They, for instance, call themselves *Gael*;[142] but foreigners, among whom they include the English, Gaoill or Gaill.

It may be inferred from the commutability of the letters c and g among the Celts, and of κ, c and g, among the ancient Grecian writers, who call them Κελτοι, that the Gauls, originally, denominated themselves *Coill* or *Coillte*, pronounced *Keel* and *Keelte*, from the Celtic name for *woods* in which they lived. This opinion receives some support from the

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[141] Mixt. of Fable and Fact, p. 27.

[142] The bardic corruption of this name has been already explained and accounted for. The Irish are correctly called *Gael*, by the author of a tract upon the Danish wars in Ireland, the title of which is, 'Cogadh Gael re Gallabh,' The Wars of the Irish against the Foreigners.

name Caledonia, whether it be derived, according to Mr. James Macpherson, from *Cael* and *doch*—a region, *Cael* and *tan*—a country, or, according to Mr. Whitaker, from *Caled-on*—woods. A Gaul in Irish is called *Ceal-tach*, and a wood, *coill*, is in the ablative pronounced *gaoill*, as in *a ccoill diamhair*—in a dark wood. The name of this people is metaphorically used with different meanings. *Gal* means warfare, and, as if valour, *gal-ach*, had exclusively been an attribute of the Celts, it is thus implied in their national name. As a family distinct from the Goths and Sclavi, individuals seemed to consider themselves connected by a general tie of consanguinity; in consequence, the word *gal* or *gaol*, literally a *Gaul*, is generally used to denote a *relation*; as *fear gaoil*—a kinsman, *brathair Gáoil*, (literally, brother Gaul) mean a man of the same tribe; and *luchd gaoil*, literally, the Gallic people, signify *kindred*.

Yet, close as the relation was between a son and his parents, brothers and sisters, there are no words in the Celtic language, distinct from those, which appear to be derivatives from the Latin language, to express this consanguinity. Thus, *athair*—

a father, seems to be derived from *pater*; *máthair*—a mother, from *mater*; *bra'thair*—a brother, from *frater*; *siúr*—a sister, from *soror*. And if we reflect that, among the ancient Romans, the letter *b* was sometimes used in place of *f*, and that, among the Irish, the letter *h* is merely an aspirate, the Celtic names for *father*, *mother*, *brother*, may be considered as pure Latin, and that for *sister*, the Celtic abbreviation of *soror*. And this opinion, which was formed from the affinity observable between the derivatives and the Latin, is strengthened; not only by the general mode of life of this uncultivated family, but, by the promiscuous intercourse which subsisted among the private huddled families of Britain and Ireland.[143]

Beside the traditional testimony of the Germans and French, and the opinion of Tacitus relative to the origin of the Britons,

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[143] J. Cæsar, l. 5, sect. 10,—Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes; & maxime fratres cum fratribus, & parentes cum liberis: sed si qui sunt ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, á quibus plurimúm virgines quæque ductæ sunt. And the account of the Irish, which Strabo gives from report, is not improbable, for it agrees with that which Julius Cæsar gives of their ancestors. Strab. Geogr. v. I. p. 307,—et pro honesto ducunt—palam concubere non cum aliis modò mulieribus, sed etiam cum matribus ac sororibus, καὶ μητράσι καὶ ἀδελφαῖς.

we have the declaration of some of the most ancient and respectable foreign authors, relative to that of the Irish. Aristotle (if the work ascribed to him be his) is quoted by some as an author who denominates Ireland *a British isle.*[144] Diodorus, about fifty-eight years before the Incarnation, called the inhabitants of Ireland, *British:* αυτοις και των Βρεττανων τους κατοικουντας τοπους μεταξυ Ιρνη. And the island is termed *British,* in the first century, by Dionysius Periegetis[145] and Pliny; in the second, by Ptolemy and Apuleius; in the third, by Marcianus Heracleotes; in the fourth, by St. Chrysostom; and, in the fifth, by Saint Prosper. Isacius calls it West Britain:[146] in what age I have not been able to ascertain. If this information had been communicated by the bards, the probability of the narrative would strike the mind with conviction, although their authority, with respect to

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[144] De Mundo.—Εν τουτω γε μεν τοις μαγισταις συγχωρουσι δυο Βρεττανικαι λεγεσθωσαν, Αλβιον και Ιέρνη.

[145]—Νησοι δε προτερωσε Βρεττανιδες εισι τουσδε,
Δικεων του μεγαθ' ικριοεσσιν. η μεν ικ' ηω
Καλεονται Αλβιων, η δε προς δυσμας Ιέρνη.
Lib. 1072.

[146] Theat. Geog. Vet. P. B. Bevero. Nomine Britanniæ occidentalis eam celebrat Isacius in Lycophronem.

antiquity, may be justly questioned; but as it is imparted by ancient and unprejudiced writers of learning and character, their concurring affirmation cannot be reasonably doubted by modern historians.

In subsequent parts of this Inquiry I shall endeavour to prove that most of the tribes of Ireland came from Britain; that the fortifications with, or without, souterrains, and the form of their houses, were similar; that both used the Celtic language, the same arms, and mode of life; that the form of their letters was originally the same; and, that the Irish posterity continued the same religious worship which was adopted in Gaul and Britain. — Even now, after the lapse of ages, so striking is the resemblance in manners between this posterity and the Gallic ancestry, that one, acquainted with the Irish character, cannot read Julius Cæsar's Commentaries, without perceiving several traits in the manners of the ancient Gothic and Celtic Gauls, which are common among the present lower order of the Irish.

THE ORIGIN OF THE APPELLATIONS SCOTIA, SCOTI, SCUIT, AND SCUIT-LAND.

THIS island having been denominated by foreign authors *Scotia*, and the inhabitants *Scoti* or *Scuit*,[147] from the third to the fifteenth century, those Gothic names induced Mr. Ledwich to indulge in conjecture relative to a Scandinavian origin, and the bards to invent a history founded, partly, upon information gleaned from Josephus, and, partly, upon a play upon the name Scotia.

This late respectable author asserts, that 'it is more than probable, that Scythian colonies did arrive here before the Incarnation.[148]

'The Scots issued from Scandinavia, and were named by our Fir Bolgs, *Scutten*, the Welsh *Y Scot;* expressing in their respective languages Scythians and Scots.'[149]—'And the Scot-bhearla, according to Irish historians, was the vernacular one of the Nemethians. All grant these were a Scythian or Teutonic

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[147] By Porphyry in the third, Æthicus in the fourth, Prosper and Orosius in the fifth centuries, and subsequently by Gildas, Nenius, Ælfred, &c.

[148] Antiquities of Ireland, page 24. [149] Eadem, page 11.

colony. They were probably the people of Worms, called Nemetes, and were seated about Spire and Mentz.'[150]

Irish writers, on the other hand, are unanimous in asserting, that the Normans never arrived in Ireland before the eighth century. And their assertion is supported by foreign authors. Mr. Pinkerton too says the ancients were unacquainted with the north, beyond the 52°. The Britons, according to Tacitus, knew nothing of their origin. They were barbarians for a century after the time of Julius Cæsar, and until Agricola had prevailed upon the nobility to suffer their children to be instructed in Roman learning. Even so late as the time of Bede, no memorials were left relative to their history. With regard to a Scandinavian descent upon the coasts of Ireland before the eighth century, all foreign historians are silent. And those writers of the fourth, fifth and sixteenth centuries,[151] whom Mr. Ledwich quotes, do not support his conjecture further than in erroneously asserting that the Picts, whom the Scots usually joined in their predatory excursions,

[150] Antiquities of Ireland, page 15.

[151] Eumenes, Sidonius Apollinaris, Claudius and Aventinus.

were a Saxon people, as well as the Scots. As to the Scot-bhearla, by which the Gailic or Irish language is meant, it differs in every respect from the Gothic, which was the language of every German colony, the Belgæ of Ireland excepted.[152] With regard to the figurative Nemethians—mic Neimidhe, whom Mr. Ledwich fixed about Spire and Mentz, and called a Scythian colony, they are understood, by one of the best Irish Scholars of this day, merely to mean '*the offspring of poetry.*'[153]

This island having been originally denominated *Eirin*, and its inhabitants *Eirinigh*, the people of Eirin; or *Gaill*, Gauls, many amused themselves with wild conjectures, but only a few had the curiosity to inquire why the Celtic names had given place to the Gothic denominations, *Scotia* or *Scuit-land*, for Ireland, and *Scoti* or *Scuit*, for its inha-

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[152] And the descendants of the Irish Scoti and the Icelandic Cimbri of the Isle of Man, who speak the Manks, a tongue half Gothic and half Celtic. The Codex Lecanus states that the *Belgaid*, which must have been a Gothic dialect, had been spoken in Ireland. It was probably used by the Belgæ for some time after their arrival; but, owing to the comparative paucity of their population, it never became general in Ireland, nor continued long in use, even among this Gothic family. See Mixture of Fable and Fact, from p. 19 to 21.

[153] Mixture of Fable and Fact, page 12.

bitants. This alteration of names may be thus accounted for:

The Belgæ of Britain were traders in the time of Julius Cæsar; and those of Ireland in that of Tacitus, who informs us, that the harbours of Ireland were better known to merchants than those of Britain. But, this commerce seems to have been of short duration. It probably did not continue much longer than one century; for, during almost the whole time of the Roman power in Britain, their intercourse with that isle was of a hostile nature. Leagued with the Picts, the Belgæ, in consequence of piratical excursions, became known to the Romans, in the third century, as the predominant inhabitants of this island. And, at this time, it is probable, their manners, language, dress and arms denoted them to be Goths. As the Saxons had during the same time made frequent descents upon the east coast of Britain,[154] it was natural to infer that the

[154] According to Pancirollus, an author of the sixteenth century, two Roman generals were appointed to prevent the incursions of the Picts, Scots and Saxon pirates. One called *Dux Britanniarum*, commanded 14,000 foot and 900 horse: his duty was to guard against the joint inroads of the first and second people. The other, to whom the care of the east and south coasts was committed, commanded 3,000 foot and 600 horse, and he was called count of the Saxon coast, *comes littoris Saxonici*.

Scots, who were of the same family, had emigrated from some part of Scandinavia. The Gaill, who were, as Mr. Pinkerton describes them, a simple and innocuous people, appear to have been partially subdued by this martial race, as early as the third century. Their name, and that of their country were confined to themselves. But the only inhabitants of this isle, who seem to have attracted the notice of British, Roman, and other foreign writers, were the enterprising Belgæ, whom, as Goths or Scythians, they denominated Scoti — Scuit. Hence the origin of the name *Scuit-land*, applied by the Saxons to Ireland; hence the latin name *Scotia*; hence also the appellations *Scuit*,[155] *Scutten*, *Schieten*, latinized into *Scoti*, and given by other nations to the Scythians, had been transferred to those piratical Belgæ of Ireland. Accordingly, the inhabitants of Ireland are denominated *Scots*, by Porphyry in the third century, by St. Ambrose, Claudian, Ammianus Marcellinus and Æthicus in the fourth; by Orosius and St. Prosper in the fifth; by Gildas in the sixth; by Isidore and St. Adamnan in the seventh; by Bede in the

[155] Literally *bow-men* or *archers*, from the Gothic *shot* or *shut*, a dart or arrow: hence the Irish *sciot*, a word of the same import.

eighth; and by Nennius and Alfred the great in the ninth. And so early as the fourth, their dominion, according to Æthicus, extended even to the Isle of Man, which, Orosius says, belonged to them in his time also. The predominant power of the Belgæ in Ireland induced several authors to quote the following line from Propertius, as evidence that the ancient Irish were descendants of the Getæ, a savage, Gothic people, who dwelled on the banks of the Danube:

"Hibernique Getæ pictoque Britannia curru;"

which is understood to mean — *the Irish Getæ and Britain with her painted chariot.*

This line is amply discussed in the Essay on the Mixture of Fable and Fact, and reasons are assigned tending to prove that Propertius and other Latin writers used the word *Hiberni* merely as expressive of *shivering* or *frigid* objects.

The late General Vallancey has had the merit of discovering the affinity between several Irish words and similar ones in oriental languages. That discovery applies equally to the ancient Gallic and British dialects, because they were the same, or nearly the same, as the dialect of Ireland.

This affinity in language, and a conformity of manners and customs with those of eastern nations, evince that the Celts and Goths were of eastern origin. Does it hence follow that the Irish solely, but not their Gallic or British family, should have taken, even a second time, according to the bards, the supposed long and circuitous route from Scythia to Spain, before they reached Erin?

Having endeavoured to prove that the opinions relative to Scandinavian origin are groundless, I shall proceed to the consideration of the different tribes which anciently occupied the soil of Ireland.

OF THE FIRST SETTLERS IN IRELAND, WHO ARE NOTICED BY HISTORY.

THE first Inhabitants of Ireland are probably not recorded :[156] they arrived long before historians, learning, or letters were known in these sister isles; but the first authentic tribe

[156] As the Voluntii, Brigantes or Belgæ had not arrived in Ireland when Diodorus wrote, nor, perhaps, the Gallic emigrants from Armorica, it is probable that this isle must have then contained some tribes beside the Damni, who seem to have been confined to a small part of the north of Ireland. And those, as Mr. Whitaker observes, might have been driven hither by the Belgæ three hundred and fifty years before the Christian æra.

or sept, which is noticed in Irish history, passed over from the opposite coast of Caledonia. These settlers were

THE DAMNII,—CALLED BY THE IRISH TUATHA DE DANANN.

In the second century, according to Ptolemy, but probably long before, the Damni occupied the present Carrick, Cunningham and Renfrew, part of Kyle and part of Clydesdale in Caledonia; and in the same age, a sept of them was described by Ptolemy, as residents in the county of Colerain or London-Derry. This sept is erroneously called by Ptolemy, who either mistook the orthoepy, or was misinformed, *Darnoi* or *Darinoi;* but correctly by the bards Danánn or Tuatha De Danánn,[157] —*the Damnian gentry of the river Dee.* This sept was induced by the short passage across the north channel, and by predatory motives, to dwell in the vicinity of their countrymen, friends and allies, the ancient Britons or Picts. With this view they settled upon the opposite Irish coast,[158] whither an embassy

[157] In the Annals of Inisfallen, which were written in the thirteenth century, this tribe is called *Tuatha Den.*

[158] Ogyg. p. 14. Quemadmodum Danannæ a nostris traduntur in aquilonari Hibernia appulisse.—These are confounded by the Rev. Mr. O'Conor with the Damnonian Belgæ.

from Caledonia, to join in predatory excursions against the south Britons, would be soon received.

According to Ortelius' and Mercator's edition of Ptolemy's map, the Damni appear to have left their first position in Ireland and gone to the east coast; and the former territory, which in their maps is given to the *Rhobog*,[159] tends to evince that the latter not only expelled them to a situation north of the Voluntii, but seized upon their relinquished country, which, by the bards is called *Da'l na ruidhe* or *Magh Seimne*. Such effects, naturally resulting from such causes, would account for the inconsistency of the different editions of Ptolemy's map; the editors ascribing to error Ptolemy's west position of tribes, which time, unnoticed by geographers, had silently changed to the east.

About the year 360, Ammianus Marcellinus and Saint Jerome, both then cotemporary, associate the Attacotti to the Caledonian Damni. The former are unnoticed by Pliny in the first, and by Ptolemy in the second century; but as Richard introduces a colony

[159] See the subsequent account of the Gallic or Armoric tribes.

A. D. 320, from the north of Ireland to that part of Caledonia called after them Argyle—Ard Gaill, the high-land of the Gauls or Irish, or Iar-Gael, West Gaul, it is not improbable that the Attacotti—Attachtuatha of the bards, constituted this Irish colony. Though the precise time of the emigration may not be accurately defined, the early settlement of this Irish colony in Caledonia is so much insisted upon by different authors that, the fact may be readily admitted. And we may adduce as evidence, that the relinquished territory in Ireland was afterward denominated Da'l Riada, or the territory of the Clanna Rhoboig or Clanna Redoin. These emigrants, it is likely, were the Scots, whom Maximus induced the Picts to expel from their country about the time that Valentia was converted into a Roman province.[160] And these, perhaps, accompanied by the Da'l Riadas, probably constituted the Irish emigrants, who, in about two centuries after, crossed the north channel, and settled opposite to the north east promontory of Ireland, in Argyleshire, under the name of Novantes — Nodh meann, the celebrated new-comers.

[160] According to the bards, the Damni were twice in Ireland. Keat. p. 195 & 205

Thus far history is supported by probable events, for Valentia, which was bounded on the east and west by the German ocean and the Irish sea, and comprehended all that territory, which lay between the wall of Adrian on the south, and that of Antonine on the north, having fallen into the hands of the Romans, it is unlikely that they would suffer their Irish enemies to abide in their neighbourhood, or that the latter would venture their liberty in the vicinity of strangers, who wished for boundless dominion. And, in consequence, it does not appear that those Irish Caledonian emigrants had dared to form a new settlement in Caledonia before the fifth century, when they learned that Honorius had renounced the sovereignty of Britain, that Valentia had been evacuated, south Britain drained of its youth and deserted by the Romans.

The Bards inform us that this tribe were magicians, and skilled in the arts[161] and sciences, the knowledge of which, must have appeared, to savage minds, in the light of

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[161] The superior intelligence of this people and of the Clanna Rhoboig, considered with Tacitus' account of the trade of Ireland, induce me to suppose that the coal-works at Bally-castle on the north coast, which exhibit marks of ancient operations, had been worked by either or both,

magic. From their accounts conjoined with the import of the word *Tuatha*,[162] which signifies north, and, metaphorically, an honorable or sovereign people, it may be inferred that, during their stay in Caledonia, they had received a tincture of letters from the Roman Britons, which they might have brought with them into Ireland before the Christian religion was introduced here.

According to the accounts of bards, this tribe, which was seated in the north, was expelled by the Milesians, who occupied the south of Ireland. But, it is more probable that it was induced to emigrate, partly by the irruption of the Belgæ from the south to the north, partly by the misfortune of Britain and by the hope of plunder.

THE GALLIC OR ARMORIC TRIBES — FINE FOGHMORAICC, PIRATES.

About fifty-seven years before the Christian æra, after the Veneti, Diablintæ, Rhedones, Nannetæ, and other states of Armorica, had been subdued by, and had given hostages to, P. Crassus, an insurrection arose among the first of these tribes. They not only detained

[162] A woman supposed to be skilled in magic is called in Irish, *bean sighe*, and also *bean tuathach*, a north woman.

and loaded with irons the ambassadors whom Crassus sent to solicit a supply of corn, but entered into a confederacy with all the nations of the Gallic coast, and also sent ambassadors to Britain for an additional supply of forces.[163]

These having been defeated at sea by the Romans, and all their vessels, except a few, having fallen into the hands of the latter, Cæsar, reflecting upon their revolt, after they had given hostages as evidence of submission, irritated at the insult offered to the sacred character of ambassadors, and indulging a hope that exemplary punishment would deter other Gallic states from the commission of similar acts, proceeded against the survivors with unusual severity. Though Cæsar informs us that the whole senate was put to death, and the rest sold as slaves, it is not improbable that many of the survivors, in dread of Cæsar's anger, took refuge among the neighbouring states, or accompanied the defeated Britons, who had probably joined in the league.[164]

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[163] C. J. Cæs. l. 3. S. 8. Omni orâ maritimâ celeriter ad suam sententiam perducta. And S. 9. Socios sibi ad id bellum Osismios, Lexobios, Nannetes, Ambianos, Morinos, Diablintes, Menapios adsciscunt.—Auxilia ex Britannia, quæ contra eas regiones posita est, accersunt.

[164] Cæs. l. 4. S. 18.—Tamen in Britanniam proficisci contendit; quòd *omnibus ferè Gallicis bellis*, hostibus nostris indè *subministrata auxilia* intelligebat.

These fugitives seem to have coasted along the west shore of Britain, and crossed from the isle of Mona or Anglesea over to Eirin. Three of those tribes and two septs occupied the north west division of this island. A fourth, called Diablintæ or Diablintes, settled in the site of Dublin, where they founded a town, which, according to an ancient author of the life of St. Coemgin, was denominated in Irish, *Dubh-linn*.[165] Those Armoricans, according to the bards, whose narrative plainly proves that they wrote after christianity had been introduced into Ireland, were called *Fine Foghmoraice*, who, they tell us, were African pirates of the race of *Cham*, compelled to quit their country by the descendants of *Shem!*

They settled at *Toir-inis* or *Tor Chonuing* in that north west county, then and since called after them Dun-na-ngal[166] or Donnegal —the fortification of the Gauls, the situation assigned to the Vennicnii and Rhobogdii in Ware's edition of Ptolemy's map. The bards

[165] This name, which he interprets the '*black bath*,' properly signifies the *black pond* or *pool*, from which in Gaul, not in Dublin, the denomination of this tribe probably originated.—'Et Scoticè dicitur *Dubhlina*, quod sonat latinè *nigra therma*, et ipsa civitas potens et belligera est, in qua semper habitant viri asperrimi in prœliis, et peritissimi in classibus.' See p. 97 of this Work.

[166] Keating, p. 181.

inform us that four of the sons of those pirates were artisans famous for the construction of forts, and were called Bog, Rhobog, Rodan and Ruibne.[167] From this traditional account of their skill and of their denominations, I infer that this tribe were the

CLANNA RHOBOIG, THE RHOBOGDII OF PTOLEMY, AND CLANNA RHODOIN OR THE RHEDONES OF CÆSAR,

whom our bards personified and fixed in Donnegal — Dun na ngal — the fortresses of the Gauls. These, or a sept of them, in after ages, seized upon the north east coast. They probably subdued the Damni, whose neighbouring territory in the county of Colerain—Cuil rathan, seems to have got into their possession. The Clanna Rhedoin were bounded on the north by the

VENNICNII OR CLANNA VENNIC.*

These I conceive to be fugitives of the Veneti—Vennet of Cæsar, who seated themselves near the extremity of the north west

[167] See p. 15. note *

* The author is aware that when the scope of a work do not coincide with the erroneous conceptions, prejudices or vanity of human nature, passages or assertions, apparently weak, are too often selected for the condemnation of the work in general, even when the tenor of it and the facts adduced cannot be fairly refuted.

coast. Another division of these seem to have settled either then or afterward, and probably, with a commercial view, in North Wales.

THE NAGNATI — NAGNAT OR NANNET,

whom I conceive to have been the Nannetes, Namnetæ or Namnetæ of Gaul, settled south of the Clanna Rhoboig in the county Sligo, and perhaps also in Mayo. Their town, which Ptolemy calls the illustrious city, πολις ενισημος, stood in the former county.

With regard to this inquiry it may, for instance, be objected that, although the fort builders or chieftains, Rhobog and Rhedon, are commemorated by the bards, the Clanna Vennic and Namnet, who are unnoticed by them, should be considered in any other point of view than as ideal septs, because there is no authority to establish their residence in Ireland, except that of Ptolemy.

In answer to such objections it may be urged that as the bardic principal tribes accord with those of Ptolemy, it is probable that his subordinate ones, although omitted by the bards, were equally well founded. One of those, the *Lucbt na Sionna*, though not mentioned in bardic narratives, is affirmed by Orosius to have been settled on the Shannon in his own time. The Velibori or *Siol Eibheir* too, according to Ptolemy and him, were coexistent with the former in the second and fifth centuries, although their respective situations are not recorded by the bards.

The state of obscurity in which ancient Irish history is involved, lays every modern work upon the subject open to criticism. On this account, the nature of this inquiry requires that its different subjects should be, like the links of a chain, so connected as to support each other. The reader will judge whether the design has succeeded. He ought however in candour to suspend his judgment with regard even to a single assertion, until he will have patience not only to read this history throughout, but to consider the facts upon which it is founded, as well as the inferences deduced.

THE ERDINI — ERNAIGH,[168]

one of the Gallic septs, formed a settlement south east of the Nannet or Nagnet in the county Fermanagh. And, in consequence one of its divisions was anciently denominated, from its relative situation, *Iar-gal*— West Gaul, and another, from its local aspect, *Ros-gal*, or the Delightful Gaul; both significant of the origin of these septs. The former division contained the present barony of Lurge, &c; the latter Magheraboy, with the ancient district Magh Cceitne or Magh Geitne, the present barony of Cool and Tullagh. According to Irish writers, they also occupied the entire county of Leitrim and part of the county Cavan, each of which was in later ages denominated Bréifne.—The last of these tribes were

THE AUTERI — AUT-ARAIDHE.

These occupied the county Galway and part of the county Roscommon. Modern authors assert that this tribe is unnoticed by Irish writers: on the contrary, their posterity

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[168] These were also called Clanna Degaid and Clanna Deagha. Loch Erne (Loch Eirne) probably received its name from this Sept, which surrounded it.

at least are frequently mentioned. Baxter says, that *ot* or *aut*, in the Celtic, signify a coast. If we add to it the word Araidhe, which is pronounced *aw-ree*, probably a name of Gallic descent, and certainly that of an Irish Chieftain, whose tribe the bards place in the county Antrim, we shall have that tribe denominated Aut-aw-ree, Araidhe's coast; which Ptolemy places in the province of Conacht. The identity of this tribe with that of Da'l Araidhe, seems to be confirmed by the dereliction of their territory in Conacht in the third or fourth century,[169] and by its subsequent occupation by the Belgæ, whose septs seized upon the whole province under the patronymic names of Damnonii, Olnemactæ; and those of clans, as Gaileangadii, Cathragii, Gamanradii, Partricii, Martini, &c. And, on Araidhe quitting the coast for an inland situation in the south and south-east parts of the county Antrim, his new territory acquired the name of *Da'l*, a portion, territory or tribe; in place of the former *ot* or *aut*, a coast.

[169] The bards inform us that a King of Ulster, in the third century, was called *Fiacha Araidhe*. If this chronology be correct, it may be inferred that the *Aut-Araidhe* had then quitted the coast, and that the Belgæ had crossed the Shannon before the fourth century.

All that can be inferred from the bardic account of the wars, which occurred between those Gauls and the Irish, is, that they were engaged with the Damnii, the Belgæ, the Brigantes and the Voluntii, whom I conceive to be designated by the appellation *Briotan*,[170] and the epithet *maol*. All those tribes are indiscriminately called *Mic Neimhiodh*, or the Sons of Poetry; and they are said to have been of the same family.

Some tribes which were settled in this island before, and perhaps, after, the arrival of the Foghmoraicc, having been vanquished by them, were required to pay an annual tribute in kind, which was tyrannically levied and received at *Magh Geidne*, within the dominions of the Ernaigh, and also at Morc and Conuing, in Tory-island—Toir-inis, in the territory of the Rhobog.[171]

Nagnata, the celebrated city of Ptolemy, is not noticed in Irish history, although a small episcopal village called *Rhobog*, is to this day a memorial of this people, who lived beyond their northern frontier.

[170] The name *Bhritan* is applicable to the country whence they emigrated; and the epithet *maol*, shaven or bald, probably alluded to short hair. At what time it became fashionable it is not ascertained. J. Cæsar describes it as long before the Incarnation; Gir. Cambrensis as short in the twelfth century.

[171] Keating, p. 181.

ADDITIONAL REASONS FOR SUPPOSING THOSE TRIBES OR SEPTS TO HAVE BEEN THE DESCENDANTS OF THE ARMORICAN GAULS, DEFEATED BY J. CÆSAR.

Vestiges, which denote the ancient settlement of a comparatively intelligent people in Ireland, are noticed, and some have been recently discovered. A commercial road, called Aisgeir Riada, or the mountainous ridge of Riada, was run through woods and bogs from Galway to Dublin, along the south boundary of the Aut-Araidhe, and on the borders of the counties Meath and Leinster. Each side was walled and strengthened with redoubts. A MS. life of St. Colomba informs us that, in this apostle's days, a druidic temple stood in Dun na ngal, which contained an altar of exquisite workmanship, and decorated with precious stones. And plate 26 of Gough's Camden, exhibits another altar full of rock basins, which was found in the same county; human victims are supposed to have been slain upon it. A plough was found in a very deep bog in Donnegal; and a hedge defended with wattles, standing under a bog, five or six feet in depth.[172]

[172] Sam. Molyneux in a letter to the Archbishop of Dublin.

I quote the following passage from the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.[173]

'The early Irish accounts of Dublin, alluding to it having been built and inhabited by the Danes in the fifth century, are evidently anticipated. The Blanioi or Eblanoi of Ptolemy constitute the Canthred of Dubhlana or Dubhlin of the Irish; whence it is supposed, Difelin of the Danes, Develin of the English, Dublinium and Dublinia of Latin writers, Dinas Dulin of the Welsh, Duflin of the Saxons are taken. Baile cliath is comparatively a modern appellation.'

'The commentators of Camden state that, 'when Eagan king of Munster visited it, it was called Atha-cliath Dubhline; which is interpreted, 'the passage of the ford of hurdles over the black pool.' And they add that, 'the etymology of Baile-cliath is founded upon a very false supposition; for the ground upon which Dublin stands, could at no time have been soft or quaggy. The ancient city, once enclosed with walls, stands on very high and firm ground; and in the lowest parts of it toward the river, where several

[173] Vol. xiii. On the Mixture of Fable and Fact, p. 45.

new streets have been built within fifty years, they come to a firm gravelly foundation in a few feet.'

When we consider that almost all the towns and the Irish septs, which occupied them in the supposed time of St. Patrick, are as new to the present generation as those described in Ptolemy's map, it is wonderful, after the lapse of many centuries, that so many traces of those Gallic tribes should have survived the devouring hand of time.

Cæsar's description of the Veneti corresponds with the bardic account of those Gauls in Ireland. He says they possessed many vessels, with which they traded to Britain; and that the neighbouring states, which visited their harbours, were tributary to them.[174] Keating informs us that, 'these people were denominated *Fomhoraigh*, i. e. sea robbers or pirates; for the term signifies powerful at sea, or sea-faring men:'[175] that they were engaged in warfare with the Irish in every province in Ireland;[176] and at length succeeded in the conquest of it, exacting a

[174] Cæs. de bel. Gal. l. 3. S. 8. Quod et naves habent Veneti plurimas quibus in Britanniam navigare consueverunt.—Omnes ferè, qui eodem mari uti consueverunt, habent vectigales.

[175] History of Ireland, p. 181.

[176] Eadem, p. 179.

tribute in slaves and in kind, which was annually paid at Magh Geidne and in Donnegal.[177] To facilitate the Irish trade, which was carried on with Britain and with other foreigners in the time of Tacitus,[178] they constructed the road, already mentioned, through which the articles of commerce were conveyed to the metropolis of their allies, the Diablintæ; whence they were transported to Holyhead and Bangor[179] in North Wales, the

[177] History of Ireland, p. 181.

[178] Vit. Agric. S. 24. Melius aditus portusque per commercia & negotiatores cogniti. It is not improbable that the Massilians, the early instructors of the Gauls, were invited by those Armoricans to trade with Ireland.

[179] In the 13th vol. of the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Mixt. of Fable, &c. p. 48, the author is disposed to believe he committed an error relative to the direction of the British causeway, which he thus accounts for. Having been then ignorant of any ancient Irish commercial road, and having relied upon Dr. Gibson's explanation of the names of places found in an old Saxon chronicle, which the author supposed to be authentic, he thought Richard and Whitaker wrong in asserting that the British causeway extended from Richburrow in Kent, to Segontium, a town near Bangor; not to Cardigan as Gibson describes it.—The author is now of opinion that the passage from Ireland across St. George's Channel to Cardigan was both long and dangerous, especially for the British and Irish corachs or boats which were slight in texture, ill-shaped and easily upset. — Gir. Cam. Cambriæ Descr. C. 17, says that a British corach was liable to be overset by the tail of a living salmon: — cum autem naviculam salmo injectis cauda fortiter percusserit, non absque periculo plerumque vecturam pariter & vectores evertit. These facts, as well as the following circumstances, induce him to suppose Gibson's line of road erroneous; viz. the direction of the Irish causeway from the site of Galway to Dublin; the short passage thence across to Anglesea and the safe land carriage from that island toward Bangor ferry, to the territory of the Armerican Veneti.

territory of the other sept of the Veneti, by whom they were ultimately transferred along Sarn Gaolach, the Irish causeway, to Richburrough or Dover.

The emigration of those Gallic tribes from Gaul, which may be inferred from the occupation of their territory by the Britons, gives some support to the opinion I advanced. The regions of the Curiosolitæ on the north, and of the Veneti on the south, are particularly noticed by Adelmus Benedictus, an author of the seventh century, as the retreat of the Britons; but, the Diablintæ and Rhedones having been seated between those, it is probable that they had also forsaken their country. As the Curiosolitæ are not mentioned on Ptolemy's map of Ireland, it may be supposed that they might have assumed the name of a more distinguished tribe, or that of the chieftain *Araidhe*.

The coincidence of circumstances connected with those people appears, on recapitulation, very striking. 1...The causes of emigration. 2...The time nearly corresponding with the date assigned the Rhobog and Eblanoi by Mr. Whitaker. 3...The maritime situation chosen as the best suited for a

trading people. 4...The agreement of denominations. 5...The identity of nations or tribes, the Irish Gaill and Celtic Gauls having been of the same family. 6...The circumstance of three neighbouring tribes in Gaul settling in the vicinity of each other in Ireland, and the fourth, together with a division of a fifth, forming establishments on opposite coasts, apparently with a trading view. 7...The subsequent and immediate occupation of their territories in Gaul by the British. 8...The vestiges of a civilized people, which have been discovered in Donnegal. 9...The appellations denoting a Gallic as well as an Irish people, which are still in use, or on record where they settled. 10...Their city Nagnata, to which Ptolemy applies the epithet επιφανες, *illustrious*, excelling, as we should suppose it among a commercial people, all the rest in Ireland. 11...Another town, if not two, within their territories, having been called *Regia* or *Rigia* (rig, rigo, royal) denominations applied to royal forts in Gaul. 12...Their skill and power as mariners. 13...The commercial road leading from the territory of the most southern Gallic tribe to the metropolis of the Diablintæ,

where, according to Irish history, duties were anciently levied upon merchandize. 14...Watling-street, a Saxon corruption of *sarn Gailach*,[180] the Irish causeway, having been conducted nearly on a line with Aisgeir Riada, through the territory of the Veneti of North Wales. 15...The failure of Mr. Whitaker in accounting for those particular tribes. 16...The notice in Richard, which expressly states that the Cauci and Menapii had arrived in Ireland a little before Cæsar's attempt on Britain.[181]

Notwithstanding the power of necromancy, which the Damni are represented to have exercised against their enemies, the fate of battle drove them from the county London-Derry or Colerain to the east shore of Antrim;

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[180] Richard, iter. I. Ab eadem civitate (Rhutupæ, Richburrow in Kent,) ducta est via Guethelinga dicta usque in Segontium; a town near Bangor. Rapin calls this road a Roman high way; but as the Irish were never known to the Romans by the name of *Gaill*, as Mr. Whitaker observes, we may conclude from the Celtic denomination of this causeway, that it was constructed by the Britons; and from its import and direction, for the purpose of conveying commodities from the commercial people of Ireland to the commercial people of Britain.

[181] Antiquities of Ireland, p. 9.—The Menapii, and perhaps the Cauci were allies in the Armorican war against Cæsar.

whence they afterward probably emigrated to the present Scotland. The forsaken territories were seized upon by some of the victorious tribes, which assumed in part the names of their commanders. The denomination Rhobog was transferred to those, who quitted the west for the north-east coast; but the other Gallic septs adopted the new names of chieftains, and were called *Da'l na ruidhe, Da'l raidhe, and Da'l Riada.* Da'l signifies a property, territory or tribe; and ruidhe, raidhe and ri, which are all pronounced *ree*, may, for aught an Irish etymologist knows, mean a chieftain's name merely, or a king. *Ri-ada* or *fada*, which is interpreted 'a long arm', signifies also a *tall king*. These seized upon the entire county of Antrim, which was known by the general appellation *Da'l meann-araidhe*, which, with some alteration in spelling, may mean *the famous territory of the king*, or *of Araidhe*. And, accordingly, the bards inform us that this chief was a king denominated *Fiacha Araidhe*. Those Gauls were probably invited, in conjunction with the Belgæ, to join the Picts in their annual predatory excursions into Britain. And some of their tribes, about the third or fourth century, seem to have settled in Caledonia.

THE VOLUNTII, ULUNTII — ULLAIGH.

The Armoric tribes, the Diablintæ excepted, seemingly with a view of commanding a greater extent of territory and of trade, preferred the west to the east coast of Ireland. The north-east, being consequently left unoccupied, received the Uluntii, either about the commencement of christianity, when the Brigantes of Yorkshire and Durham invaded Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancaster and Chester; or, in the year 76, when Petilius Cerealis was the first Roman who invaded this part of Britain.

From the inscription, '*Volanti vivas*,'[182] preserved upon an ancient altar, which was found in Ellenborough, a town situate upon the mouth of the river *Elen* or *Ulen*, in Cumberland, it may be inferred that this tribe was called *Volant* or *Ulant*; a denomination either derived from or bestowed upon the river, by the inhabitants. According to Mr. Whitaker, this town was the capital of the Voluntii, where the first cohort of the Dalmatians was garrisoned, and commanded by Cornelius Peregrinus, for whom this inscription is supposed to have been engraved,

[182] 'May you live at Volant.'

in commemoration of his having restored the houses and temples of the Decuriones, 'which were dedicated to the genius of the place.' According to Stephens' Historical Dictionary the name of that town was transported with that part of the tribe, which emigrated to the county Down, and applied to the site of the present poor town of Ardglas, which he denominates *Voluntium*.

Beside three great canthreds, which the county Down contains, the Voluntii probably occupied the whole of the county Ardmagh, and parts of the counties Louth and Monaghan, which anciently were called *Oir-gal*—East Gaul.

Close to the city of Down, a large fort called Aras Cheltair, surrounded with great ramparts, is yet in tolerable preservation: it measures in conical height sixty feet, and in circumference two thousand one hundred.—As it is commemorated by documents more ancient than those on the Danish invasion, it is erroneously ascribed to the Danes. Another fortification, called *Eamhain Macha*, formerly, it is said, of more celebrity, is situate, according to Colgan, near Ardmagh; a town anciently called *Druim-saileach*. The

denominations *Ulagh*, *Ulla* or *Ullin*, which anciently were confined to the county Down, and *Ullaigh* to the tribe, were afterward extended to the whole province of Ulster, whose inhabitants in general are now called *Ulltaigh*. And the affinity of these appellations to Volant or *Ulant*, may be considered a memorial of this ancient tribe.

The only remaining Celtic tribes of Ireland were the Brigantes and the CeannCangi; but, as these were preceded by the Belgæ of Gaul and Britain, it becomes necessary to speak of the prior settlements of the latter, to account for the posterior ones of the former, and for the consequent numerous battles which occurred between those jealous and hostile neighbours.

THE BELGÆ[183]—FIR BOLG; LITERALLY THE BELGIAN PEOPLE.

The places of residence, which the bards assign the Belgæ, are confused, the ancient being blended with the later. The confusion

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[183] The Roman imitation of the Gothic appellation, which might have been *bolag*, like the Irish name, a word signifying, according to Olaus Varelius, *a society of good men*.

arose from this cause. The bardic history was commenced some centuries after the Belgæ had crossed the river Shannon, and consequently it assigns to them not only the province of Connacht, which in the second century belonged to the Ceann Cangi and the Aut-Araidhe, but that of Ulster; which in that century was divided among Gallic tribes and the British, the Damni and Voluntii.

That the Belgæ originally emigrated from Gaul to Britain admits of little doubt: the denominations of tribes, borrowed from their forsaken towns in Gaul, of which the remembrance was lost in the second century, confirmed Julius Cæsar in that opinion.[184] And that the custom prevailed among them appears, from the coincidence of the names of their British seats with those denominations by which they were known in Ireland. And though history were silent, those names which designated them in the second century, would be sufficient to prove that the inhabitants of the south-west of Ireland were emigrants from the south-west of Britain, and, consequently,

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[184] De bel. Gal. L. 5, S. 10. — Qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum appellantur, quibus orti ex civitatibus eō pervenerunt.

Belgæ. The British Belgæ arrived in Ireland, probably, in the year 45 of the christian æra,[185] and their settlement on the south-west coast tends to prove that the Cauci, Menapii, and Coriondii had previously been fixed on the east coast.

THE CAUCI—CAICHER, GAILEANGA OR GARMAN.

The Natural History of Pliny contains an account of the greater and less Cauci (C. majores & C. minores), who were divided from each other by the river Weser—Visurgis. Their territories were situate between the Ems —Amisia, and the Elbe—Albis. Pliny visited both nations, and informs us, that no people could be more wretched. They occupied huts, which they raised upon hillocks, or upon the strand above the flow of tide.—Destitute of fruit, milk, flesh of cattle, or that of wild beasts, their only food consisted of fish, which they caught in nets made of sea-wrack and the marsh rush. Their drink was rain water, collected in dikes before their doors. They dressed their food and warmed their bodies with mud dried chiefly by the

[185] Whitaker's History of Manchester.

wind.[186] To add to their misery, they were prevented by Roman garrisons from preying upon the other Germans. Thus circumstanced, as no change of situation could render their condition more wretched, any inducement to emigrate would be readily embraced by any of their septs. They were probably solicited to join the Menapii, who were allies in the Armorican maritime war against Cæsar; and some of them, not unlikely, passed over to Ireland with the vanquished emigrants. *Antiquities of Ireland*, page 9...'A notice in Richard of Cirenchester expressly informs us that the Menapii and Cauci, two Teutonic tribes, arrived here a little before Cæsar's attempt on England.' These tribes bounded each other in Ireland, and afterward became allies of the south-west Belgæ. They were called the long-haired or bushy-headed, by Lucan; and by the Irish, Sliocht Germain —the German race, Fir Tuathal—O'Tool's men, Gaileanga or Fir Gailean—enemies,

[186] Lib. 16, S. 1. Sunt vero in septentrione visæ nobis gentes Chaucorum, qui majores minoresque appellantur.—Illic misera gens tumulos obtinet altos, aut tribunalia structa manibus ad experimenta attissimi æstus casis ita impositis. Non pecudem his habere, non lacte ali, ne cum feris quidem dimicare contigit, omni procul abacto frutice. Ulvâ et palustri junco funes nectunt ad prætexenda piscibus retia; captumque manibus lutum ventis magis quam sole siccantes: hac terrâ cibos et rigentia septentrione viscera sua urunt. Potus non nisi ex imbri servato scrobibus in vestibulo domus.

or Caicher, in imitation of the German name. A district in the county Wicklow, containing three baronies, and called *Carman* or *Garman*, was in late ages commemorative of this family.

THE MENAPII — MANTAN,

prior to their emigration to Eirin, were divided by the Rhine from, and seated about two degrees south-west of, the Cauci minores. They occupied part of Brabant and of Geldria, as far as the Gallic side of the Rhine.[187] Their territory on the east coast of Ireland bounded that of the Cauci on the south, and both extended from the north borders of the county Wicklow to the south promontory of Wexford. The line of demarkation, if any, cannot be now ascertained, nor is it worth the trouble of inquiry. Some editors of Ptolemy's map place their metropolis, called *Menapia*, in Wexford, a town called by the Irish, *Loch Garmain*—the lake of the Germans; or *Inmhear Slainge*[188]—the harbour of Slainge, a German chieftain.

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[187] P. Cluv. Intr. Geog. page 69.—Inde Menapii reliqua Brabantiæ pars, et item Geldriæ ad Rhenum usque.

[188] If Keating's notice be true that the followers of Slainge were called *Gailians*, it may be inferred that this chieftain headed both the Cauci and Menapii in the Brigantian war.

THE CORIONDII—CORUNNAIGH,

are variously placed upon the different editions of Ptolemy's map: by Ware and the author of an Irish map purporting to precede the thirteenth century, north of the Vodii—Eochaidh, and west of the Menapii; by Ortelius, east of the Cauci and Menapii, and they are even represented to occupy the whole east coast from Wicklow to Wexford; by Mercator, between the Menapii and the Brigantes, whom he places on the south-east coast. Most agree that their position was near that of the Menapii, a circumstance which warrants the assertion that the Coriondii were not only a German tribe, but a sept of their neighbour. And they probably occupied a situation between the Menapii and the Vodii, which included the county of Waterford, the subsequent territory of the Brigantes. The feeble rays emanating from bardic songs may diffuse some light amidst the gloom which obscures this part of Belgic history. Those poets, who composed their songs in the middle ages, and who left many chasms to be filled up by future conjecture, were in succeeding ages followed by others, who,

allowing a free scope to the imagination, call the Belgic tribes partly by names imitative of the Gothic, partly after the names of chieftains, who lived in different ages, and partly from local situation. Thus, the Coriondii were, probably in later ages, personified under the name of *Fulman*, and the Menapii under that of *Mantan*. These are described as two chieftains of Eibhear's tribe (the Ibhearni of Ptolemy) and they are generally coupled in song. The Coriondii were probably the *Corunnaigh*, who afterward emigrated to a district in Conacht, long called, and probably by them, *Corunna*.

THE BRITISH BELGÆ — FIR BOLG, FIR DAMHNON OR FIR DHOMHNOIN.

In the year 45 of the christian æra, Vespasian had been engaged with the Belgæ in thirty battles, according to Suetonius, or thirty-two, according to Eutropius. And, as we are informed by the former author, he took the Isle of Wight, subdued the two most powerful Belgic tribes, which were then probably known by the names of Belgæ and Damnonii, and seized upon more than twenty of their

towns. The arms of S. Paulinus and P. Cerealis afterward reduced their British territory into a Roman province. Those descendants of the Goths thus harrassed, and, like their ancestors, intolerant of slavery, would naturally look for freedom abroad, which they could not expect under the Roman colonists at home. Accordingly, a considerable body of these steered for the south coast of Ireland, about the time of Vespasian's victory; and, on emigrating, they seem to have passed over in successive order, probably, according to that of their defeat.[189] Firstly,

THE VODII, UDII, UO-DI—EOCHAIDH (pronounced EO-HEE,) PERSONIFIED,

a denomination probably applied by Ptolemy in imitation of a chieftain's name, *Eochaidh*, finding the south-east coast of Ireland occupied with the Cauci, Menapii and Coriondii, settled beyond their west boundaries in part of the present county of Cork.[190] Each sept,

[189] See p. 17, &c. notes, and Ogygia, p. 14.

[190] Their chief town or fortification was situate where the present town of Youghal is erected; this town is still called *Eochail*, (pronounced Eohil) after that tribe or sept. The only sites of those towns or fortresses, inhabited

like the Armoric tribes, seems to have chosen a situation contiguous to that, which had, previously in Britain, been its neighbour and perhaps ally. In consequence, the Vodii, who in Ireland, were fixed on the east of the Ibhearni, had probably in Britain, a similar position, and were, like most of the other Belgic emigrants, a tribe of the Damnonii. The Vodii seem to have formed a strict alliance with their western neighbours,

THE IBERNI, IBHEARNI — EIBHEAR OR HEBER (pronounced EI-VER OR EA-VER,) PERSONIFIED:

The Clan of Heber, the reputed brother of Heremon, — Oir-mumhan or East-Munster, the supposed Chief of the Brigantes.

Their denomination is by Mr. Whitaker derived from the *Ibearnio* of Ravennas, the present *Beare* in Dorsetshire. But, as there were two places of a similar name in Devonshire, it is more probable that they emigrated from one of these and had founded the Velibori in Britain as well as in Ireland.

Of all the Belgic tribes or septs the Ibhearni were the chief. They seemed to command,

in the second century, which are now accurately known, are Ardglas, Dublin, Wicklow, Wexford and Youghal. The town or fort in the situation of Waterford was built probably in the third or fourth century. See Note [94] p. 43.

as occasion required, the co-operation of any of the other septs in their numerous expeditions against the Brigantes and their allies, the Ceann Cangi. Irish history is full of those battles; but the account is a dry detail; without episode or incident. The Ibhearni at length succeeded in subduing the Brigantes; but their reduction, it is said, was assisted by other causes; a rebellion among the lower order, desertion and emigration of the Brigantes to Caledonia. After this conquest the Ibhearni, on crossing the Shannon, received detachments from the Cauci, Menapii, Coriondii and other Belgic septs, which, after they exterminated or destroyed the Ceann-Cangi, settled partly in Conacht. And the Ibhearni having seized upon the province of Ulster, the remainder of the Brigantes were permitted to concentrate themselves in the county of Waterford. A memorial of this Belgic tribe, which is called *Iverni* or *Iberni* by Ptolemy, *Iberi* by Richard, *Eibhear* by the bards, is preserved in *Beára*, the Irish denomination of Bear-haven, which is erroneously ascribed to a comparatively modern Irish or Spanish chieftain; and also in *Rinn-mbeara*, situate, according to O'Flaherty,

page 176, in the barony of Kiltartan, in the county Galway, where some families of this tribe settled after it crossed the Shannon.

THE VELABRI OR VELIBORI, VEL-EE-BOR-I — SIOL EIBHEIR; pronounced EA-VIR.

This appellation is derived by Baxter from their local position in Ireland: *vel*, the mouth, *aber*, of a river; in allusion to their situation near the mouth of Castlemain or Dingle bay; and by Mr. Whitaker from the river *Voliba* in Cornwall. This sept might have occupied a situation near the river Voliba; but as to these derivations, they are only ingenious conjectures, and proved to be so by bardic history; which denominates this sept *Siol Eibhear* — the Heberian race. This fact evinces that the Velibori were a sept of the Eibhearni, whose territory must consequently have extended from the neighbourhood of Cork or Kingsale to Dingle, if not to the Shannon. In Britain they seem to have been placed north-east of the Lucd Ceni, or the Damnonian inhabitants of the harbour called *Cenion* in Cornwall; and in Ireland, south of the latter tribe, and N.W. of the Ibhearni.

THE LUCENI OR LUC-SCENA, LUC-SCE-NA OF OROSIUS, LUCD[91] NA SIONNA, pronounced LUCHD NA SHINNA,

The People of the River Shannon.

The Shannon probably received its denomination from this Belgic sept, which fixed itself upon its southern boundary. It is called by Ptolemy, *Senus;* by Æthicus, *Sacana;* by Orosius, *Scena;* by Giraldus Cambrensis, *Sinnenus* or *Sinnenas;* by Jocelin, *Synnia;* and by the Irish, *Sionnain* or *Sionna*, which some derive from *sean-amhan*—the old river. This sept is supposed to have emigrated from Falmouth haven, which was anciently called *Cenion.* These were probably a sept of the Siol Eibheir.

Exclusive of those specific denominations, the Belgæ as a body were known to the Irish by general appellations, as *Carman* or *Garman*, in allusion to their ancient stock; *Fir Bolg*, their Gallic and British name; *Fir Damhnon*, the Damnonii, in allusion to their territory in Cornwall and Devonshire, which they relinquished; and *Fir Gailian*, enemies.

Several inferences, which may tend to supply the deficiency of history, may be

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[91] Leod, Lud, Luyd, in Gothic signify *folk, people.* See Olaus Varelius in voce.

deduced from some traditionary names of the east coast, which are still preserved. The harbour of Arklow, for instance, was called *Inmhear Domhnon;* whence we may infer that, that harbour received the Damnonii on their arrival from Britain. But, probably, in consequence of the east coast having been pre-occupied, they were obliged to file off to the south-west; which accounts for the name *Erros Damnoniorum*, applied by Saint Adamnan, in the seventh century to the north west part of Conact, and evinces the migration thither of at least a part of this family.

The Belgæ are, by the figure prosopopœia, made by the bards the sons of *Deala*—kindred, who was the son of *Loch*—the sea, he of *Teachta*—possession, who was the son of *Tribhuadh*—Treabhadh, plowing? the great grandson of *Oir-teachta*—east possession. This personage was the son of Simeon, who was the great grandson of *Stairn* (Stair—history,) and he of *Neimheadh*—poetry.

These tribes were appropriately called the sons of *Kindred;* for they lived distinct from the Gaill; spoke in the Gothic or Belgic language for some time after their arrival,

and were generally leagued against the former. The territories, which the bards assign them, are confused; for they blend their conquests in the north, some of which were made in the third and fourth centuries, with their possessions in the south, which they partly relinquished.[192]

Mr. Whitaker has assigned boundaries to each of the Belgic tribes; but land having been then of little value, it is probable they were not accurately defined, even among themselves.[193]

Like the British Belgæ which seized upon the whole south coast of Britain, their Irish relatives possessed themselves of the east and south-west coast of Ireland, a circumstance which tends to prove the editions of Ptolemy's map by Mercator and Ware erroneous, in placing the Brigantes in the second century in Waterford, between those Belgic tribes; but that of Ortelius correct, in fixing them in Leinster, the pro-

[192] See p. 53.

[193] Cæs. de bel. Gal. L. 6, S. 20, speaking of the Germans, says, that the magistrates allowed no man to appropriate land with defined boundaries, nor to hold it longer than a year: neque quisque agri modum certum, aut fines proprios habet: sed magistratus ac principes — anno post alio transire cogunt. — See p. 51.

vince assigned them also by Irish bards.—The whole south coast of Ireland, from the Oboca—abhan mor, to the Shannon, being open to, and probably occupied by, the Belgæ, it is not likely that they would have suffered the Brigantes, a Celtic and posterior tribe, to seize upon the county of Waterford; nor that the Brigantes at so great a distance from their allies, the Ceann-Cangi, would have ventured upon a settlement in the midst of hostile tribes, differing from them in manners, customs and language. But, though the Brigantes, for the reasons assigned, had not occupied the county of Waterford in the second century, the ancient names, still preserved, tend to prove that in later ages, after the Belgic arms had subdued Conacht and Ulster, they quitted their north territory, and removed to the county of Waterford. If the different editors of Ptolemy's map had any meaning for altering the previous editions, it probably was caused by the change of territory, consequent upon the wars of tribes. And, consequently, the position given for the second, may truly belong to later centuries. Thus, the decumate lands in Suabia, which in the time of

Julius Cæsar, belonged to the Marcomanni, were in the second century occupied by Gallic tribes, under the protection of Rome; and the territory of the Boii in Bohemia was inhabited by the Marcomanni in the same century.

THE BRIGANTES — CLANNA BHREOGAIN; MAC MILEADH — THE SONS OF A SOLDIER,

Usually called the MILESIANS; CINEADH SCUIT, the Scythian race; or FINE GAILL, the Galic Family.

English writers, inclined to think that there must have been some foundation for the Irish account of a Scythian colonization from Spain, have, from a similarity to the Spanish names of tribes and an inability to account otherwise for their origin, selected the Iberi, Luceni and Concangi, whom Ptolemy and Orosius have placed on the south and south-west coast of Ireland, as those alluded to in bardic verse. But, the first and second were only two out of seven tribes or septs of the Belgæ, and the third was a Celtic tribe in alliance with the Brigantes. These united, constituted the whole of the bardic Spanish emigration: neither however, as I think, it will appear, had emigrated from Spain.

These authors have not considered that a voyage of one hundred and fifty leagues, the distance between the north-west parts of Spain and Ireland, would have been a rash undertaking to a people unacquainted with the island and with navigation, even admitting that they possessed vessels superior to carucæ—corachs or small wicker boats covered with hides and capable of containing men, women, children and cattle. Accordingly we are informed by Appian, a respectable author of the first century, that the Spaniards undertook no voyage to the west or north, unless when they availed themselves of the flow of tide on sailing to Britain.[194] At that time they might have heard of the inhabitants of Eirin through their intercourse with Britain; but as this commerce was thirteen hundred years posterior to the pretended Milesian settlement in Eirin, no inference can be drawn from this fact relative to any previous knowledge of this island.

Those bardic chronologists, who arrogantly presume to supply omissions even in sacred

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[194] Theat. Geogr. vet. Petro Bert. Bevero.—Appianus, gravis auctor, qui vixit sub Hadriano Imp. scribit, *Hispanos* ab occidentali et septentrionali oceano abstinere, nisi quando in Britanniam unà cum æstu maris transvehuntur.

writ,[195] inform us that the Milesians, before their arrival in Ireland, had expelled the Goths from Spain; an assertion repugnant to facts. For, according to the most ancient Greek historians, the primitive inhabitants of Spain were Celts, a people who had in every country, been hostile to the cause of Scythian tribes. Those Celts were driven from the south parts of Spain by the Phenicians and Carthaginians, who, in their turn, were expelled by the Romans. These, in the year 134 before the christian æra, became masters of the whole country; but, on the decline of the Roman empire, the Goths, for the first time, seized upon that peninsula, about the beginning of the fifth century and reduced it under the dominion of their kings, which they continued to hold about 300 years.[196]

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[195] See p. 25, of this Inquiry.

[196] The following passage, from Dr. Campbell's Philosophical Survey of Ireland, is thus quoted by a late writer. 'The learned Divine does allow that 'a Scythian nation, coming last from Spain, did settle in Ireland, *at a very early period*; because Orosius, who flourished in the fourth century, says that, the Scythians expulsed from Gallicia in Spain by Constantine the Great, took shelter in Ireland; when they found the country under the dominion of their countrymen the Scyths or Scots.'

I have not met with the works of Orosius, who was an author, not of the fourth, but of the fifth century. The only passage relative to Ireland, L. 1, c. 2. quoted by writers from some of the first editions of that book, does not contain a single line of the above supposed quotation, which the following

We may conclude from this history, that if the Milesians had wished to expel the Goths from Spain, they must have fought against their own countrymen, and could not have emigrated to Ireland before the fifth

reasons incline me to believe is spurious. I do not find that history warrants the assertion, that Constantine expelled the Scythians from Gallicia, nor from any other part of Spain. Neither do I find that those Scythians, called Vandals, &c. or those called Visigoths or West Goths, who invaded Spain, had ever done so before the fifth century, or quitted their countries on the Vistula and the Baltic with a view of invading Gaul and Spain before that time. Further, had the supposed information, ascribed to Orosius, been true, that those Scythians had passed from Spain to Ireland, rather than to Africa, whither some Goths had been driven from Spain, still, though they would have probably found this island under the dominion of the Belgæ, a branch of the same family, Dr. Campbell would not be authorised to assert that those Scythians had fixed in Ireland *at a very remote time*. Constantine the Great expelled some of the Franks from Gaul, A. D. 313, an age greatly posterior to that of the supposed arrival of the Milesians in Ireland.

Mr. O'Flaherty, the Rev. Charles O'Conor, and others have, through excess of zeal in support of the bardic Milesian narratives, unknowingly calumniated the Brigantes or those figuratively denominated the *Milesians* of Ireland. Had they been acquainted with the early history of Spain, they would have left those supposed Scythian ancestors of the Irish to their bestial course of life, and in unenvied possession of that part of Spain in which history has discovered and stigmatized them. Mr. O'Conor's ardor in this cause has tended only to lessen the value of his learned work.

For want of better authority he is reduced to the necessity of appealing to Horace and to Silius Italicus, who, he says, inform us that Scythians resided in Spain, whence, according to information obtained in Ireland by Nennius, an author of the ninth century, they emigrated to Ireland in the fourth age of the world. Rer. Hib. Scr. vet. p. 70. Scythas enim in Hispania memorant Silius 3. 360, et Horat. Od. 3, 4, unde earum in Hiberniam migrationem in quarta mundi ætate narrat Nennius ——.' This age, as some suppose, comprehended the intermediate time from the departure of Moses from Egypt till the building of Solomon's temple.

The people alluded to by Horace and Silius were the *Gonesi*, a wild people who inhabited probably the present Gauges in Asturias. Horace does not

century. Those Milesians, as Scythians, should also have used the Gothic language and characters in Egypt, Spain or Ireland. But we have no vestige of the latter, and the remains of the former are borrowed from the

denominate them Scythians: he says only, they considered the blood of horses a delightful beverage;

Lib. iii. Car. 4. Ut cunque mecum vos eritis ——
Visam Britannos hospitibus feros,
Et lætum equino sanguine *Concanum*;
—— inviolatus ——

Silius Italicus, who wrote about a century later, seems to infer, from their custom in using the blood of horses as food, and from other instances of barbarity, that they were descendants of the *Massagetæ*.

Sil. Ital. l. 3, 360. Nec, qui Massageten mon-trans feritate parentem,
Cornipedis fusi satiaris, Concane, venâ.

These were a Scythian people occupying part of West Tartary from the Caspian Sea to some undefined north and east boundaries. Their manners, according to Strabo, Ptolemy, Herodotus and others, were so barbarous that they not only devoured their enemies, but their relations after death.

Supposing the bardic accounts true, this people could not have been the Brigantes of Ireland, because these, whether they emigrated from Spain or Britain, were not Goths but Celts, and were, moreover, a comparatively civilized, populous and potent nation.—Beside, admitting that the Brigantes of Ireland were both Concani and Scythians, as they assuredly never returned from Ireland to Spain, they could not have been resident in Ireland, in the fourth age of the world, and in Spain also, in that of Horace.

To uphold the supposed honor of Brigantian descent, thus ignorantly debased by its declared supporters, we must reject Mr. O'Conor's supposition with regard to the Concani, who, whether Scythians, Sclavonians or Thracians, could not, as a very barbarous people, and insignificant, in point of number or power, reflect any credit upon the Irish nation. And, it may be further observed that, as history is silent with regard to any other real or supposed Gothic tribe having ever settled in Spain prior to the commencement of the fifth century, none of that family can be consistently said to have emigrated thence to Ireland before that time.

It may be objected that a body of the Cimbri, connected with the Gothic invaders of Italy, had passed into Spain about a hundred years before the Christian æra; but as these marauders had been speedily expelled by the Celtiberians, they could not be considered as settlers in that peninsula, nor, considering the time of their invasion, as the people whom the bards endeavoured to establish in Eirin in an age much more remote.

Belgic colonies. As to the Scythian, Coptic and Cantabric letters and languages, there is no affinity between either of them and our national ones.[197]

If the bardic account of those Milesians or Scythians were true, it would appear strange to Lord Lyttleton that their national name of *Scuit* should have remained dormant during the many supposed ages which intervened from their arrival here until the middle of the fourth century. And it is still more extraordinary that, not only in this isle, but in Scythia and in their peregrinations, they should have adopted the language of the Celts and abandoned that of their own nation. Those inconsistencies may be thus accounted for.

Bardic songs having been composed long after the settlement of those tribes in Ireland, the poets, ignorant of the real names of the chieftains, invented figurative appellations adapted to the fictitious qualifications of heroes,—to their possessions or places of

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[197] The ancient Gothic and Coptic characters, though very dissimilar, are derived from the Ionic Greek; and the ancient Spaniards made use of letters which were nearly Greek and amounted in number to twenty four. Those Cantabrians, having been besieged by Augustus Cæsar, destroyed themselves twenty-five years before the christian æra. The remains of their language collected by Larramendi is very different from the present Spanish, and, according to Leibnitz, Merula and Macpherson, very dissimilar to the Irish.

residence. Thus, one of the heroes of the Milesian poem is denominated *Gal-lamh* and also *Mileadh*, appellations of the same import as *Cíor-ghal*, a champion, or soldier. And this *champion* was the father of another hero, who, though he is said to have been born in *Galicia*, was called after his supposed possessions in Ormond or east Munster, *Eireamhón*, a name thus designedly spelled to mislead, or corrupted from *ur*, or, more properly, *oir-mhùmhan*, east Munster, which was anciently one of the divisions of this province. And, this word is not of Cantabric origin, it is derived by Keating from *mumho*, greater, a name applicable to the comparative magnitude of this division of the province. Consequently, this supposed chieftain was called after the territory; not the territory from him. For similar reasons those tracts, which belonged to Fitz-Thomas, the earl of Desmond, were called *Deas-mhùmhain*, or south Munster, and those of the family of O'Brien, *Tuadh-mhùmhain*, or north Munster.

Various circumstances tend to prove that the Milesian history was composed some ages after the time of Ptolemy, probably not earlier than the seventh century; viz. the

history being interwoven with the Mosaic, which had not produced many proselytes here in the fifth century;[198] the many derivatives from the Latin with regard to religion; the bardic names of places in Ireland being those of the middle ages; and the omission of some tribes which Ptolemy notices as cotemporaneous in the second century.

The geographical[199] and eastern historical information contained in Irish history, may be traced, as Dr. O'Brien observes, to ecclesiastical books[200] brought hither by the Roman

[198] This inference appears from a curious fact, which occurred, A. D. 457, as it is related in the Annals of the Four Masters: 'Cath atha-dara ria Laignibh for Laoghaire Mc. Neill ro gab dorn Laoghaire isin cath sin, agus do rad Laoghaire ratha Grene agus gaoithe, agus na ndul do Laignibh nach tiocf forra tria bithin ara legaidh adha;' i. e. the battle at the oak-ford fought by the inhabitants of Leinster against Laoghaire the son of Neil. Laoghaire, having been taken in that battle, swore by the sun, wind and elements that during his life he never would march against them with that view; to wit, of requiring the tribute of cows, which was the cause of that battle.—Yet this Laoghaire is noticed as the first of the Christian Kings in Ireland.—The historians add, that he violated his oath and was in consequence killed by the sun and wind.

[199] The knowledge of geography was notwithstanding, very circumscribed, as it appears from the travels and voyages of *Mileadh*. They were as ignorant of Scandinavia as the French of those days were, although they were invaded at different times by hordes from that quarter. They, for instance, denominated the Danes and Norwegians '*the fair and dark offspring*, and also, Lochlanig or lake-landers,' from the circumstance of their fleeing for safety or with plunder, to our lakes, whither they were in the habit of drawing their boats.

[200] It was from this source of information that Spanish and Irish writers as well as the compilers of Universal History had learned that Magog was the ancestor of the Scythians.

clergy. And the errors of bards respecting the Scythian origin of the Milesians, who were the Brigantes and Cangan or Ceann-Cangi of Britain, both Celtic tribes, arose from the Gothic arms, manners and customs of the Irish of their days. And these may be traced to the predominant power of the Belgæ in Ireland, who at this time had, like many of the old English in the reign of John, neglected their own language for the *gailic* or Irish Celtic.[201]

However, notwithstanding the romantic superstructure which the bards have raised in their narrative of the Milesians, some facts may be discovered in the traditional basis, which tend to establish the authenticity of Ptolemy's map. A mutual light is consequently reflected, which soon became nearly extinguished by the soar of bards through regions of fiction.

Ortelius' edition of Ptolemy's map places the Brigantes in the situation of the county Kilkenny, the west division of the Queen's county, called Ossory, and in Carlow; and their allies and cotemporary settlers, the

[201] The descendants of the primitive Irish, the Celtæ or Gaill, had always an antipathy to the consonants of the Gothic or Belgic language, which they called *Belgaid*, and also to its dialect, the English.— See page 79, note 152.

Ceann Cangi or the chief Cangi, who were shepherds and herdsmen, in Tuadh-mhumhan, the county Clare. Most of the bards fix the former in Leinster and extend their territory from Magh Breg, north of Dublin, to New Ross in Wexford: some place them in Ulster and Conacht;[202] but, as all agree that their poetic chieftain, Heremon — Oir-mhumhan[203]

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[202] The authors of the Book of Invasions and Psalter of Cashel, as well as Giolla Coamhain and Torna Eigis, were completely ignorant of the state of Ireland in the second century. They assert that the south division of Ireland, called *leath dheas*, or *leath Mogh*, was possessed by Heber's small colony; the north called *leath thuadh* or *leath Cuinn*, and separated from the former by the road called Aisgeir Riada, by Heremon. As if one colony, according to their narration, could require such extent of territories! This division of the island would strike at the foundation of Irish history. For, if we admit that the Milesians constituted but one small colony, which soon after their arrival in Ireland, separated into two septs, both occupying the extreme ends of this island, the numerous battles which occurred between them could not be reconciled with our ideas of convenience, prudence, necessity or policy. This division was merely conjectural. Tradition having fixed the Eibhearni, the principal Belgic tribe, in the south, it was supposed that the Brigantes in a conquered island, must have chosen the north. — I take this opportunity of correcting an error into which the Rev. Mr. Ledwich has fallen. Page 3. Antiquities of Ireland, he says, 'Neither Bede, Nennius or Girald. Cambr. mention Milesius.' On the contrary, that name is twice mentioned in the 6th Chapter of the Topography of Ireland: 'De quinto adventu filiorum *Milesii* regis de partibus Hispaniæ et qualiter Herymon et Heberus regnum inter se diviserunt.'

In this chapter he speaks of four sons of King Milesius who arrived in Ireland, and of the subsequent division of this island between Herymon, who chose the south and Heber who, he says, settled in the north.

[203] The bards inform us that Oir-mhumhan anciently consisted of two canthreds called Muscruighe-tire, which extended from the south part of the Queen's County, through Kilkenny to Carraig-na-Suire near Waterford.

resided in Leinster, near New Ross, Keating naturally infers that the tribe he commanded, must have settled in the neighbourhood.

Keating informs us that Milesius—Mileadh and his relations were the family of Breoghan, son of Bratha.[204] And, 'from the posterity of Breogan, no doubt descended the people called Brigantes, as the ancient chronicles of Ireland inform us.'[205] But he believes the Brigantes of Britain had descended from the family in Ireland.

The Brigantes were in the first century one of the most powerful and warlike tribes in Britain. Beside the counties Durham and York, which they occupied, they obtained by conquest the additional ones of Westmorland, Cumberland and Lancaster; and they obliged the vanquished to adopt the name of their tribe. Though in possession of this extent of territory, they were successfully attacked about the year 51 or 52 by the Romans, under the command of Ostorius; and in consequence of the defeat, a body of them quitted Britain shortly after and retired to Ireland.[206]

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[204] Page 45 of the old translation. [205] Page 279 of the late.
[206] The Triades in Carte, p. 213. Vaughan's Chronicle in Carte, p. 203.

The north-east parts of this island having been previously occupied by their countrymen the Damni and Voluntii;[207] the north west and county Dublin by the Armoric Gauls, the east coast by the Cauci, Menapii and Coriondi, and the south by British Belgic tribes, the only vacant territory, which then presented itself, extended from the west boundary of the Cauci[208] to the county Clare, north of the Shannon. The greater part of Ireland having then been consequently preoccupied, necessity obliged them to take up their residence between the German tribes on the east, the Belgæ on the south and west, and the Gauls on the north-east and north-west.

The county of Waterford having then been probably occupied by the Coriondii, these and the Vodii bounded the Brigantes on the south. The Cangan or Ceann-Cangi, whether

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[207] Richard, page 42. Certissimum est Damnios, Voluntios, Brigantes, Cangos, aliasque nationes, *origine* fuisse *Britannicâ*, quæ eo postea trajecerunt. And page 45, Non possum non in hoc loco monere, Damnios, Voluntios, Brigantes et Cangianos, omnes fuisse *Britannicæ originis* nationes, quæ, cùm vel ab hoste finitimo non daretur quies, vel tot tantaque exigerentur tributa quibus solvendis se impares intelligerent, —— in hanc terram trajecerunt.

[208] These having left those parts of Leinster unoccupied, in which the Brigantes settled, we may infer that they could not have been long in possession of the coast. And as to the S. Belgæ, they were then merely an infant colony.

the Sistuntian or Lancashire subjects of the Brigantes, or a body of the Brigantian shepherds, having accompanied[209] the latter tribe, were obliged to plant themselves[210] in that part of ancient Conacht and of the present Munster, called the county Clare; whence they seem to have extended to, or to possess an open communication with, Ossory, the west boundary of the Brigantes.

The mountainous and comparatively barren tracts of Wicklow, Wexford and Kerry would not long content the ambitious views, nor satisfy the wants of a restless, martial and a growing people. An encroachment would naturally be made upon the frontiers of the Brigantes, whose fertility of soil and probably numerous herds, were sufficient motives to attract the rapacity of those

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[209] The Triades: Ostorius, p. 42; Richard, p. 43 and p. 51. A. M. 4050, circa hæc tempora, relictâ Britanniâ, Cangi et Brigantes in Hiberniam commigrarunt, sedesque ibi posuerunt.—Whit. Manch. vol. 1, p. 229.

[210] Mr. Whitaker conceives the plural *Cangen* or *Cangian* to mean foresters, and the singular *Cane* or *Cang*, to signify a hill or wood.—We may add, that *Cean* in Celtic signifies a head or chief. *Macolicum*, a town or fortification which Ptolemy places upon the Shannon, seems from its situation to have been the metropolis of the Ceann-Cangi, whose territory in the County Clare was anciently called Magh Seolidh or Tuadh Mumhain. And as it had been usual among the ancients to transfer the names of tribes or tracts of land to their chief towns, I infer that Ptolemy's *Macolicum* was meant to express the denomination *Magh-seolidh*.

Belgæ,[211] whose profession, both in Gaul, Britain and Ireland, was arms, and whose trade, after the third century, consisted in pillage and devastation.

After some of the Armorican settlers had emigrated to Caledonia, and the principal Belgic tribes had crossed the Shannon and possessed themselves of Conacht[212] and Ulster, the Brigantes quitted their territory in the northern part of Leinster, and took possession of the deserted region of Waterford, where, according to Whitaker, "they built Brigantia—Waterford, or some town near it, and gave the name of Brigas to the Siur,[213] their limitary stream on the north, and the appellation of *Bergie* to their own part of the county of Wexford." In conformity with this account, we are informed by O'Flaherty, chap. 43, that the territory of a certain Belgic chieftain extended from the county Clare as far as Kilkenny. Waterford, enlarged about

[211] Hence the origin of the bardic history of Ireland, which is almost entirely confined to the seemingly unnatural wars waged between Heber and Heremon, the Ibhtarni and East-Munster or the Brigantian people, who are represented as brothers and sons of Mileadh (soldier.)

[212] Besides several inferior Belgic septs, O'Flaherty, Og. p. 175, notices three principal ones by whom Conacht, then divided into three parts, was occupied.

[213] Or, according to Camden, to the conflux of the rivers Sidir, Eoir and Berva, which constitute the haven of Waterford.

the middle of the ninth century, and called Cattafieord[214] by the Danes, is situate upon the ancient Abhan Breoghain, the Brigus of Ptolemy. This county, before the arrival of the English, was called Ibh Breoghain, or the country of the Brigantes; and its inhabitants were denominated *Sliochd Breoghain*, or the posterity of the Brigantes;[215] though these, it is said, were long before expelled from Waterford, by a clan called the *Desii*.

The inscription in old Pelasgic characters hereafter mentioned, and found in the dominions of the Brigantes, evinces the ancient Gallo-Grecian source whence those characters emanated, and the accompaniment of British druids with British tribes.

Exclusive of those British tribes which passed over from British Roman provinces, a small colony crossed the north channel from the territory of

THE PICTS—CRUITNIGH.

These were a martial people, who inhabited Alba or Caledonia. Some authors assert that they were originally Germans; but Camden

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[214] Waterford.

[215] The chief of this family before the arrival of the English was, according to Camden, called O'Breoghan or O'Brain; not O'Brien.

concludes, from their customs, manners and language, that they were Britons. Like the latter they stained the body with the juice of woad, so as to represent the figures of different kinds of animals,[216] a custom never practised by the Germans.[217] Like the Britons they wore scarcely any clothing, used military chariots armed with scythes, and did not exclude their women from regal command. The whole of their arms consisted of a narrow wicker shield, a sword and lance.[218] They used no helmet nor breast-plate.[219] They wore hoops of iron round their waists and necks as ornaments; and estimated them as highly as others did rings of gold.[220]

Tacitus calls them either *Britons*, in allusion to their family, or *Caledonians*, from the name of their country. And, in his life of Agricola, he introduces Galgacus,[221] a Pictish captain, who, in his speech to his soldiers preparing

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[216] Herodian, L. 3. St. Isidorus, L. 19, C. 23.

[217] Among the Goths in general the Geloni or Getæ were perhaps the only Scythians who painted themselves.

[218] Herodian, L. 3. [219] Idem. [220] Idem.

[221] This name was perhaps the Roman imitation of *Galgadh*, an Irish appellation for *a champion*.— It appears from passages in his speech that no tradition of a Scandinavian or German origin remained among them: — 'there is no land beyond this, no people, nothing but waves and rocks: we inhabit the extremity of the world:'— et nullæ ultrà terræ,—nulla jam ultrà gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa — nos terrarum — extremos, &c.

to oppose Agricola, speaks of Britain as their country, and of its inhabitants as their countrymen. Agricola, also, on addressing his army, observes: 'if you had a new people or strange troops to contend with, I would encourage you by the example of other armies; but now you have only to recollect your former exploits, and to ask your own eyes whether these people are not the same who last year attacked the 9th legion.—Of all the Britons these are the most fugitive, and they have therefore continued to exist.—The bravest of them have long since fallen; the remainder are inactive and timorous.'[222]

As the Picts continued to be a nation until the Scots subdued them in the ninth century, the opinion of writers cotemporary with the Picts, should in this age be considered of some weight. Beside the testimony of Martial and Tacitus in the first century, we have the authority of Dio, about the end of the first, of Herodian in the second, of Vopiscus about

[222] C. C. Tac. Agric. §. 34. Si novæ gentes atque ignota acies constitisset; aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer: nunc vestra decora recensete: vestros oculos interrogate. Ii sunt quos proximo anno nostram legionem furto noctis adgressos,—ii ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi, ideoque tam diu superstites.—Sic acerrimi Britannorum jam pridem ceciderunt: reliquus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium.

the end of the third, and of Zosymus about the beginning of the fifth, for believing them to be of British descent. In the year of the Incarnation 296, when Constantius Chlorus had defeated them, they were first called Picts, in a panegyric pronounced before him in Autun in Gaul, by Eumenius the rhetorician. And they were stigmatized by the Roman Britons as *Picti*, or a painted people, after the introduction of christianity into Britain, when the south inhabitants were in a great measure Romanized in language, manners and customs, and when they probably considered their north countrymen in the light of barbarous strangers.

But, although the testimony of those authors had not descended to us in support of their British origin, it may notwithstanding be inferred from the following facts; viz. the crowded population of Britain in the time of Julius Cæsar;[223] the change of situation incident to a pastoral life, as well as from the vis a tergo consequent upon the renewed emigration from Gaul. They kept up a constant intercourse with the north of Ireland, suffered Irish colonies to dwell on the south-

[223] Vid. his Comment. Xiphilinus et Dio on Nero.

west confines of their country; and some of them in turn were also permitted to settle in the north of Ireland. The British origin of their language may be also inferred from the Celtic names of places in Caledonia, and from the circumstance of the Picts having been instructed in the Christian religion by Irish pastors, who founded monasteries in Hy—Aoi, an island.

In Ireland they first settled, and probably in the third century, if not earlier, in Da'l na ruidhe, and afterward removed to Magh Plagha, the present barony of Boyle in the county Roscommon. The Irish appellation for a Pict is *Cruitneach*, which some think a corruption of *Britneach*, a Briton; but B and C were never used in the Irish language as commutable letters. Cruitneach means both a humpy man and a Pict, and both have the same plural, *Cruitnigh*:[244] hence it is probable that the name was applied to them in derision, and perhaps in consequence of the Picts having sent hither the infirm and deformed inhabitants of Argyle to make room for the efficient Irish troops, which settled there.

[244] Caledonia was by the Irish called *Alba* and *Cruithin tuath*, literally, the country of the Picts or that of the crump-shouldered or humpy people.

The Damni, who settled at an early period in the north of Ireland, were probably Picts, or painted Britons. These, it may be supposed, had formed an alliance with their Caledonian countrymen before either attracted the notice of authors. Both are said to have joined in predatory excursions against Britain about the middle of the first century; but the authors quoted by Hanmer upon this subject have erred in their narratives;[225] and the insinuation of Eumenius in respect to the Irish having joined the Pictish forces before the invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar, is merely matter of conjecture. The first authentic account does not go farther back than the beginning of the second century, from which period to the middle of the fifth century, Roman writers, though they omit many minor depredations, inform us of those remarkable ones committed by the Caledonians and Irish in Britain.

[225] Among the generals who commanded in Britain under Claudius, I do not find any mention of Marius, the son of Arviragus, a Briton, who, they say, had been engaged nine years in war with the Picts and Scots; neither can I find the Picts distinguished by this name from the Britons before the third century. Arviragus, according to Juvenal, reigned over part of Britain by permission of Domitian.

THE FINLANDERS — FEINE EIRIONN; IRISH MILITIA.

The Finns, a people of European Sarmatia, were placed by Ptolemy in the site of north Prussia, whence they emigrated to Finnland. They were supposed to have been a sept of the Venedi, and, consequently, to have used the Sclavonic, or a dialect of that primitive language. Induced either by a prospect of plunder or of a new settlement, they probably accompanied the Nordmen to Ireland in the ninth century; and they are stated to have settled in various parts of the island; but, it is probable that they planted themselves in the barony of Fermoy — Fearmoighe, and in the half barony of Condons, in the south of Ireland. Hence, the old name of this district was *Magh Feine*, and that of its inhabitants *Fir maighe Feine*, the people of the territory of the Finns.

Part of this district is now called Roche's country — Criocha Roisteach, in which a mountain commanding an extensive and delightful view of this district and of some lofty mountains in Limerick, Tipperary and Waterford, is still named *suighean na mna Fionne*, or the seat of Fingal's consort. Part

of this tribe is said to have settled in Leinster, and part, called Clanna Baiscine, occupied a barony in the west of the county Clare.

Their military character induced the Irish toparchs to employ them in protecting their coasts from the invasion of the Danes, who, it appears, were afterward permitted, through the intercession of the Finns, to hold a commercial intercourse with the Irish. In the book of Howth and that called Catha Fionntragha, the battles of Ventry,[a26] the stations and the names of the officers of the respective coasts are mentioned. And, as there is no historic evidence that, after Ireland had been colonized from Britain and Gaul, it had been invaded by any people with the view of forming a settlement, except the Picts, or by any pirates before the eighth century, when the Nordmen first arrived, the establishment of this militia is a presumptive proof that the Feine Eirionn were not appointed before the ninth; and the prefixes *mac* and *ua* or *O*, attached to the names of their officers, are evidence that they were not appointed before the eleventh century, as it was in the

[a26] Although the authenticity of those battles is questioned, the account of the military stations may be correct.

commencement of it that Brien Boiroimhe established them for the distinction of families.

Saxo Grammaticus says that the Finn and Finni were a great sept in Denmark, 'hardy, stalworth men given to preying and burning of towne and country.'[227] From the frequent mention of those Danes or the people of Lochlin in those poems ascribed to Ossian, it may be inferred that the Finns were coeval with them in Ireland, as the latter were not known to the Irish before the eighth century. According to the book of Howth, Dun Domh *mac* riogh mor, or Dun Domh, son of the great king, was a king of the sept of Fion *mac* Cumhail — Fingal, and resided at Limerick — Luimneach. While the Finns were garrisoned on the coasts[228] under the command of Fionn mac Cumhail, they were quartered upon the inhabitants from November until May,[229] and during the remainder of the year they subsisted by hunting and fishing.[230]

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[227] Hanmer's Chronicle, page 48.

[228] Keating's old translation, page 135, informs us that the number of standing forces in the time of peace amounted to three battalions; in war to seven, and each contained three thousand men. Among the curious military regulations enjoined by Fionn (Keating, p. 136) each candidate, for admission into his militia, was required to be a poet and enabled to extract a thorn from his foot, though in full speed!

Fionn mac Cumhail, as a superior officer, was chosen by the bards, as the hero of detached pieces, which were composed about the thirteenth century. The most ancient of those documents, it is said, are in the Bodleian library, and these, according to the testimony of Mr. Price, the librarian, were unintelligible to Mr. Macpherson. The Scotch edition is judged from the style and the use of the letters k, w, x, y, z not to be older than the fourteenth century. But, in order to give them an air of antiquity and to establish Alba or Caledonia as the maternal country of Ossian —Oisin, interpolations are artfully used, in addition to those rhetorical figures called metaphor, metaplasm and metastasis. It is now justly considered more than doubtful that Ossian was the author of any of those poems, or, that as a warrior, he deserved the praise, which is lavished upon him. At all events, the most ancient of those fragments are in point of sentiment or imagery, greatly

[229] One of our bards has committed an unlucky anachronism in informing us that Art or Arthur, who is supposed to have reigned in the south of Ireland in the third century, had, among other presents, given money to Fingal; for coin was not in use among the ancient Irish. O'Halloran's Introduction, vol. 2, page 246.

[230] Keating, old translation, page 133.

inferior to the pretended version by Mr. Macpherson, whose modest endeavour to adorn Ossian's brows with a crown of laurel, is acknowledged to merit a similar honour for his own.

It may be reasonably supposed that the time, which intervened between the first and the eighth century, had produced some amelioration of manners in Finland; but the picture given of its inhabitants, when in Ireland, is nearly a copy of the archetype which Tacitus drew in the first century. At this remote time their mode of life differed but little from that of the wild animals which they chased. Clad in skins they lived in a filthy state of poverty, devoid of houses, horses, and even of every kind of arms except arrows, tipped with bone. They lived upon herbs and the produce of the chase, in which they were accompanied by their wives, as they had no fixed place of abode. They slept upon the ground, and the only protection for old age and infancy, from the attack of wild beasts, and the inclemency of the weather, was a sort of wattled work made of interwoven branches. Ignorant of divine powers, they feared not

the wrath of heaven: possessing nothing but their liberty, they had no fear of man. And, as they knew no mode of life but that which they followed, habit made them content with the custom of Finland.[231]

In Ireland their huts or tents must have been of a very temporary nature, as they were erected in the evening, and after they had dined. The materials of their bedding were the 'branches of trees, placed next the ground, upon which they laid a quantity of dry moss, and upon the top of all a bundle of green rushes.' They lighted their fires and dressed their food in the open air, and several of those rude hearths, called *Falachda na bhfeine*, containing charcoal and small siliceous sooty stones, are frequently uncovered by the plough or spade, near the banks of rivulets in many parts of the south of Ireland.[232]

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[231] Tac. de Germ. S. 46.

[232] The ore called *manganese* is, however, sometimes mistaken for them by peasants. The old translation of Keating, page 133, informs us that they were in the habit of digging two large pits, of which one was intended for ablution; the other for cooking. 'They kindled large fires into which they threw red hot stones as a pavement. The flesh bound up in green sedge or bull-rushes, was laid upon these: over them was fixed another layer of hot stones, then a quantity of flesh, and this method was observed till the pit was full. They never ate but once in twenty-four hours, and always in the evening.'

Their valour was displayed in wars with the Russians; and that of Fingal's sept in Ireland is still a frequent topic in poetry as well as in discourse. Tacitus calls them *Finni*; the Irish *Feinne*. In this island they were celebrated for their skill in medicinal herbs, their taste for poetry [233] and romance. And it is probable that either they or the Damnii introduced the northern belief in sorcery.

THE EMIGRATION OF IRISH COLONIES TO CALEDONIA.

It is probable that some Irish tribes or septs had at two different æras formed a settlement in Caledonia. The first body, as I have already stated, were probably a sept of the Irish Damnii, called Attacotti—Attachtuatha, which were found associated with the Caledonian Damnii about the middle of the fourth century. And the date of

[233] The Finnish poetry, called Runic, is full of alliteration, and that which is most esteemed and is most difficult among the Irish bards, resembles it in a similar play upon words and letters. See Keating's Hist. late translation, page 202.

their settlement may be conjectured from the omission of their name by Pliny in the first, and by Ptolemy in the second centuries, compared with the account of Ammianus Marcellinus and St. Jerome, and with that of Richard, who fixes their departure from Ireland, A. D. 320.[234] That of the second may be likewise discovered by inference from history.

A species of vanity natural to human nature induced some Scottish writers to forge æras for the settlement of Irish septs, in Caledonia. One was fixed by some at 356 years before the incarnation; but the calculation of Hector Bæthius who dates it at 330 before Christ, is more generally believed in Scotland. Yet, the computation of time by the christian æra was not adopted in Britain nor in Ireland before the eighth century; neither were letters nor figures used in North Britain before the eleventh century, except within the exclusive walls of a few monasteries.

Irish writers, though unable to reconcile their histories to the account of the venerable

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[234] See also, Hist. d'Irlande par M. l'Abbé Mac Geoghegan, page 144, 'La premiere colonie des Scoto Milésiens qui s'établit en Albanie, fut conduite, au commencement du troisiéme siecle par Cairbre,' &c.

Bede, agree that there had been such a person as Rieda or Riada,[235] from whom, he truly says, the Dal Reudini obtained their denomination; but affirm that nearly three centuries intervened between the æra of the expedition to Caledonia and the time of this chieftain. Consequently, that Bede, ignorant of the fact, had used a patronymic name in place of those of the real leaders, who, they affirm were three brothers, named Loarne, Fergus and Æneas, the sons of Erc.[236] But the denomination by which they were known in Ireland, in the fourth and fifth centuries, and in Caledonia from the commencement of the sixth to the present time, seems to prove the truth of Bede's assertion; at least with respect to the second settlement. That county in the present Scotland, called Argyleshire—*Ard Gaill*, the highlands of the Gauls or Irish, or, according to Mr. Macpherson, *Iar-Gael* —West Gaul, and its narrow peninsula denominated Cantyre—*Ceann-tir*, the head land, were from that chieftain denominated, as in Ireland, *Dal Riada*, corrupted in the

[235] Called Reuda by Bede, Eccles. Hist. L. 1, C. 1.

[236] If any faith can be put in this relation of O'Flaherty, it must allude to the prior settlement.—Ogyg. page 470.

eighth century into *Da'l Riedin*, since into *Rheudisdale*, and now into *Riddesdale*; all signifying the territory of *Riada*.[237]

The contradictory genealogy of Riada's family, as it is described by Irish and Caledonian writers,[238] and their confused chronology, with regard to the æra of the Irish expedition to Alba, reduce us to the necessity of endeavouring to acquire information upon this subject by inferences from facts.

The Britons, deprived of their martial youth by Constantine and Maximus, wrote to Ætius, who was then, A.D. 451, a real or honorary consul in Gaul, requesting aid against the combined Picts and Scots, and informing him that they were hemmed in between these barbarians and the sea; a situation which left them but the choice of two deaths. Ætius being unable to relieve them, the Britons succeeded, by desperate efforts, in repelling those barbarians. Gildas a reputable writer of the sixth century, removed from Britain to Armorica, where he

[237] According to Irish history, Carbre Riada was a descendant of the Ernaigh or Erdini of Ptolemy, who, having been expelled from Ulster by the Clanna Rughruidhe, a Belgic sept, settled in Munster, whence they were afterwards driven to the N. E. of Ireland, by another Belgic sept.

[238] Vide Ogyg. page 469.

finished his work upon British transactions, in which he reprobates the conduct of the British kings of that time. The Britons having been victorious in the third and last devastation, Gildas informs us, that 'the impudent Irish spoliators returned home with a design of soon coming back.'[239]—And, lest the home he alluded to should be misunderstood, he previously informs us that the Britons were for many years harassed by those two transmarine nations, the Scots from the south and the Picts from the north.[240] It therefore appears to be evident that in the year 451, the Dal Riada had not settled in Ard Gaill, otherwise they would not be said to have gone home to Ireland. When we reflect on the frequent wars which occurred between the Armoric Gauls, the Damnii, the Voluntii, and the Belgæ, it seems not improbable that some of each of those tribes had passed over and settled in Caledonia at different times.

The names of places occupied by those Irish emigrants manifest the country whence

[239] Gildas quoted by Bede: 'revertuntur impudentes grassatores Hiberni domum, post non longum tempus reversuri.' Bede, L. 1, C. 14.

[240] Gildas apud Usser. C. 15, p. 593.—'duabus primùm gentibus transmarinis vehementer sævis, Scotorum à circio, Pictorum ab aquilone calcabilis, multos stupet gemitque annos.

they came. Part of Argyle was known by the name of *Ierna*, and the Hebrides were called *Erin*. Foreigners denominated the highlands *Hibernia*, and their inhabitants *Hiberni*, as late as the eleventh century; and the Lowlanders called them *Irish*. And after the destruction of the Picts, which occurred in the ninth century, the name, Scotia or Scotland, by which Ireland was known, from the third to the fifteenth century, was transferred to the whole of North Britain.

The only additional information which I have met with upon this subject, may be inferred from the date of the

ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS IN BRITAIN.

The venerable Bede informs us, that the first Saxon body arrived in Britain A.D. 449, and the third body in 452. The Britons, according to him, sent in the twenty-third year[141] of Valentinian, a supplicatory letter to Ætius, then in Gaul, soliciting aid against the Picts and Scots. This event, from his calculation, must have occurred A.D. 448, for Valentinian was crowned A.D. 425. But,

[141] L. 1, C. 13.

according to the most authentic chronology, Ætius marched from Italy to oppose Attila, A. D. 451; and Attila, in the same year, commanded an army of Huns in Gaul, whence, after having been defeated by Ætius, he entered Italy A. D. 452. Consequently, if the Britons in 451 applied for aid to Ætius, when opposing the Huns in Gaul, the Saxons could not have been settled in Britain, A.D. 449, nor could the Britons have sent that letter before the twenty-sixth year of Valentinian.

After the Romans had finally withdrawn their own and the efficient British troops from their island, the Britons, apprehending renewed attacks by the Picts and Scots, and despairing of aid from Rome, invited to a settlement among them, those Anglo-Saxons whose valour they had previously experienced in piratical incursions into Britain. These foreign forces, from the neck of the Cimbric Chersonesus, and the three small islands, now called the North Strandt, Busen and Heiligland, arrived in three separate bodies; the first probably, A. D. 452, when Bede introduces the third body of that nation, and the year after Ætius had refused to aid the Britons. The first body had scarcely rested

when it was led against the Picts, who had formed a settlement in Lincolnshire. And the third body, not waiting for Pictish aggression, pillaged the Orcades, the present Orkneys, and drove the Picts beyond the confines of Northumberland. To prevent their return, these Saxons formed a settlement near the river Tyne, whence they afterward extended their territory to the Humber.

The Saxon steadiness in battle, and their close method of fighting with the short and crooked sword, terrified the naked and bare-headed Picts, who had been lately repelled by the Britons alone. Finding a new and ferocious enemy, more formidable than the Romans to contend with, the Picts may be naturally supposed to court the protection of those allies, the Gaill, by whose co-operation they had so often and so successfully pillaged the deserted Britons of those days. And, in order to render their alliance more effectual, it is probable they invited them to settle in those parts of Caledonia, where history has placed them, and whither the passage from the north-east of Ireland would have been, even in corachs, but a voyage of a few hours duration.

The circumstance of the Gaill having settled in Caledonia, about the time of the arrival of the Saxons in Britain, induces me to believe that the same motives, which actuated the Britons to invite the Saxons, stimulated the Picts to induce the Gaill to fix upon a settlement on the opposite coast of Caledonia. And, accordingly, our later Irish chronologists introduce thither a second colony from Ireland,[142] after the Saxons had been received into Britain. And it is highly probable, that the old and decrepit Picts, who settled in Da'l na Ruidhe, a district more anciently occupied by a colony from their country, were expelled to that deserted territory, to make room for those tried troops.

These seem to have been composed of Belgic, the Damnian and Armoric tribes. The last were probably the Da'l Araidhe, of which I suppose the Da'l Riada to have been a sept. These by Irish writers were called, as I have already observed in a note, *Degaidh* or *Ernaigh*, who, whatever the cause had been, emigrated from their north-west territory in Conacht to those parts of the south-

[142] Ogyg. p. 470, &c. A. D. 502.

west of Ireland, which had been deserted by the victorious Belgæ. But, in the course of time, they quitted their south settlement and again roved to the north, where the Da'l Riada seem to have joined those Gallic tribes denominated Da'l na Ruidhe and Da'l Araidhe.

It may be supposed that similar motives had existed in the time of the Romans to induce the Picts to wish for an Irish establishment in Caledonia. Accordingly, some native historians fix an Irish colony there about the year 211,[243] Richard A. D. 320, Ammianus Marcellinus and St. Jerome in the fourth century. And they continued in peaceable possession of that part of the Pictish dominions called Ardgyle, and some territory in its vicinity, including the south-west coast of Valentia, until the continued aggression of the Picts, and of this people, induced Theodosius the elder to seize upon Valentia about the middle of the fourth century.[244]

To assist an inquiry into the origin of the Irish people, it becomes necessary to notice the time of the separation of all the septs from

[243] Hist. d'Irlande, page 144.

[244] See page 85 and page 86 of this Inquiry.

the main body in Britain, and to pursue them into their retreats. Among those Celtic colonies history gives but a brief account of the Britons, who emigrated at different times to

ARMORICA—AR MUIR, (literally, UPON THE SEA,) WALES AND CORNWALL.

Lhuyd, quoting the Triades of Britain, affirms, 'it is certain the Britons went hence to Armorica in the year 384.' Rapin says, about the year 378,[245] or in 382, according to others, when Maximus assumed the purple in Britain; soon after which æra, he appointed Conan Meriodoch, one of his lieutenants, a count over Armorica.

This territory and Picardy, according to Gildas, Nennius, and Giraldus Cambrensis, were assigned to British youth by Maximus, in consideration of their military services. And though historians are not exactly agreed upon the particular year of their settlement, the narration of Zosymus, who wrote early in the fifth century relative to the efforts made by them to shake off the Roman yoke,

[245] According to Gildas and Bede, many Britons, to avoid famine, fled thither in some intermediate time after the departure of the Romans and before the arrival of the Saxons.

tends to prove that the time could not have been much later than the dates assigned by Lhuyd and Rapin. As an additional corroboration, we find that Mansuetus in the council of Tours, which was held A. D. 461, subscribed himself *episcopus Britanorum*, or bishop of the Armorican Britons. Gildas and Bede inform us, that it received other bodies from Britain, between the years 458 and 465.

Notwithstanding the silence of history with regard to a more early British settlement in Armorica, it is likely that a colony from Britain had fixed itself there soon after the defeat of the Armoricans by the Romans. This inference may be drawn, from the appellation of *Britons* applied to this people by Juvenal[246] and Martial,[247] in the first century; from that of *Britannia*, bestowed upon a tribe on the borders of Flanders and Picardy, by Dionysius the geographer and Pliny the naturalist; and also from the dereliction of Armorica in the preceding century. Further, it is unlikely that this region continued vacant during three or four centuries in so populous a country as Gaul;

[246] Inv. 15, 124. Quâ, nec terribiles Cimbri, nec Britones unquam.
[247] Mart. 11, 21, Quàm veteres braccæ Britonis pauperis, et quàm—

and it is as improbable, admitting it had been occupied by any other tribes, that they should have been so completely expelled by bands of British exiles, as not to have left any memorial of their family, name or existence. Probably the experience of Roman tyranny incited those Britons to pass over to the vacant lands of their ancient allies.

About the year 584, or A.D. 590, according to Powel's Welsh Chronicle, the remaining Britons, upon the arrival of a large army of Angles headed by Crida, quitted their possessions in the interior of Britain, and retired to the mountains of Wales and Cornwal.

RELIGION.

Mr. Hume and other authors believed that the Grecian and Roman writers erred, in supposing that the Gauls and Germans were acquainted with their mythology. And their opinion, founded probably upon the barbarity of those nations, and upon their ignorance of the civilization of other states, appears at first view to be well grounded. On the other hand, it can scarcely be doubted,

that the knowledge of those Grecian and Roman writers in heathen mythology enabled them to discriminate and to recognize their own deities where their peculiar rites and forms of worship were practised. Persuaded that those gods of the east were worshipped anciently under other names, not only in Gaul and Germany, but in Britain and Ireland, I shall endeavour to account for their introduction.

All authors agree that if the Athenians or Phoceans of the Ionian Isles, disdaining their state of servitude to Persian masters, had not emigrated to Marseilles, in the year 164 of Rome, they at least settled there at a remote time. They founded in that city an academy, in which several Gallic and Roman youth had been educated. The Greek characters and language were used here for ages. From the intercourse of those Greeks with the Persians, they seem, in addition to their own rites, to have borrowed much of the Persian worship, which was communicated to, and practised, perhaps with some trifling change, by the Druids of Gaul. The resemblance between the Persian and Druidic is so striking that a description of the former, clearly evinces it to have

been the source of the latter. It is therefore probable, that Aristotle erred, in supposing that the Greeks were instructed by the Gallic Druids in their mysteries; for, a religion accompanied with such rites could not have originated among savage people. The same reasoning applies to Pliny: for the celebrity of the Druidic rites in Britain, in his time, did not warrant the inference drawn by him, that the Persians might have consequently received those rites from the British.[248]

Among the ancient Magi there were three orders of priests, of whom the archimagus or high priest was considered the successor of Zoroaster: they were learned in mathematics, astronomy, and natural philosophy. They were averse to the instructing of strangers in their religion, ancient language or its characters, and even concealed their knowledge from their own countrymen, except the royal family and those destined for the priesthood.

In celebrating the rites of their church, the priest, clad in white rayment, held in his left hand the twigs of a sacred tree, which he threw into the fire on the conclusion

[248] 'Britannia hodieque eam (Magiam) attonite celebrat tantis ceremoniis, ut eam *Persis* dedisse videri possit.'

of service. The Persians and Greeks[249] anciently adored the sun, to which the former sacrificed horses as other nations did bulls; and upon extraordinary occasions they immolated human beings. Originally the Persians had no temples, but reared on the summit of mountains, altars, on which they preserved sacred fires. Before these they administered oaths. In those remote times they also adored the moon as well as fire.[250] Herodotus says, they considered the air or wind, as the Athenians and some of the Romans did, in the light of a deity; and it may be inferred, from their aversion to inhumation, that they venerated the earth.

The Gallic priests were also distinguished into three orders; druids, prophets and bards. And they had also their archimagus, or chief priest.

The Druids, or the Celtic *Draoi*, were probably the same as the Irish Cruim-thearigh,[251] or priests of Jupiter: a lofty oak, which was also consecrated to him by the Romans, was their idol. They conceived the viscum

[249] The sun, moon and stars were once worshipped in Greece, according to Plato.

[250] Le grand Dictionnaire, voce *Perses*.

[251] Cruim, thunder.

album, or misleto, a parasitic plant, seldom produced by that tree, a present from heaven, which they administered in various diseases. Pliny informs us, that the Druidic priest, covered with a white vestment, used to climb up the tree, and with a golden hook cut off the misleto, which he received upon a white cloak. According to this author, they also administered in disorders of cows and swine, the Lycopodium selago, or the fir-club-moss; which they plucked with the right, and the Samolus Valerandi, brook-weed, which they gathered with the left hand.[151] They were divines, astronomers, geometricians, geographers and politicians. They embraced the opinion of Pythagoras, respecting the immortality and transmigration of souls.[152] They used the ancient Greek characters, the form and power of which they were probably unacquainted with prior to the settlement of the Phoceans at Marseilles, from whom it is likely they also learned the worship of the oak, which the Greeks called *drus*, the Gauls *deru*, the British *dru*, the Saxons *dry*, and the Irish *dair* or *duir*. And this was probably

[152] Diodor. opera. Pythagoræ apud illos opinio invaluit quod animas hominum immortales in aliud ingressæ corpus, definito tempore denuo vitam capessant.

the tree which the Persians considered sacred. The Druids committed nothing to writing; but like some of the Greeks, instructed in verse, which their pupils committed to memory. According to Strabo, their presence was always required at sacrifices. The Druidic sect comprehended the Saronidæ, Σαρωνίδες—hollow oaks. These were civil judges and teachers of youth.

The prophets called Eubages,[253] and by the Greeks Seminothes—Σεμνοθεοι, worshippers of God, were moral philosophers and astrologers. It was their duty to attend to divine subjects solely, to minister at the altar, and upon important occasions to sacrifice human victims.[254] These were the priests of Apollo. They worshipped his idol, which was represented under the appearance of both sexes, as symbolic of animated nature. When the oracles of this god promised a victory, Herodian says, it was customary to carry the idols about from place to place. These idols were heads with open mouths, and hair diverging in the form of rays.

[253] Derived, perhaps, from *ua*, offspring, and *baidhe*, prediction.

[254] Those immolated persons were stabbed with a sword through the diaphram, according to Diodorus, or through the back, according to Strabo. On matters of less moment they used auguries and the bowels of other animals in divination.

In some parts of Gaul, the sun was worshipped under the Persian name of *Mithras*; in others under that of *Belis* or *Belenos*. This last denomination, according to Elias Schedius on the German gods, implied a mystery; for, on calculating the Grecian numeral power of the letters, he discovered that the word denotes the annual number of days which the earth requires in moving round the sun: an epsilon, however, is changed into an eta.

β	η	λ	ε	ν	ο	ς
2	8	30	5	50	70	200

In the year 1598, a round and hollow stone, which in form resembled a keg, was dug up near Dijon. This enclosed a glass vessel, painted with various lively colours. The following arrogant lines were engraved upon the stone in two circles resembling a crown:

Μίθρης ἐν ἐργάδι χῶμα τὸ σωμα καλύπτει Χυνδόναξ[355],
Ἱερέων ἀρχηγὲ, ἄνοσθεν ἀπίχου, λύσιοι κόνιον ἐρῶσι.

'In the sacred wood of Mithras, this tumulus covers the body of CHYNDONAX,[355] high priest. Retire, thou ungodly person, for the protecting gods preserve my ashes!'

The sun was also worshipped by some of the Greeks under this Persian appellation.

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[355] Compounded perhaps of *esan*, the head or chief, and *dune*, a teacher.

As an additional testimony of Gallic devotion to this luminary, the celebrated temple of Thoulouse, the capital of the Tectosages,[256] was consecrated to this divinity. And a symbol of the oracle of Apollo, as I have described it, was also found in the country of the Velauni.

The bards[257]—báird, composed hymns, eulogies and satires, which they sung, and accompanied with the harp.[258] According to Diodorus, their appearance between two hostile armies ready to engage was sufficient to prevent the effusion of blood. Strabo says, they were highly honoured by the Gauls. At festivals they sat near the person of the king. And the tracts of land, which they received in Ireland, evince how greatly their compositions, accompanied by the harp, had delighted our chieftains. They afterward, however, usurped the province of historians

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[256] This tribe emigrated to Germany and settled near the Hercynian or black forest; and the temple was afterward dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

[257] Lucan, L. 1. calls them prophets.

Vos quoque qui fortes animas belloque peremptas
Laudibus, in longum, *vates*, dimittite ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina *bardi*.

And Jocelin, in his life of St. Patrick, C. 45, speaking of an Irish bard, says; 'the songs or hymns which he formerly was wont to compose in praise of false Gods, &c.'

[258] Diodorus,—— lyris non dissimilia.

or antiquarians—*ollaimh re seanchas*, became chronologers, genealogists, and degenerated into a satirical, unprincipled and venal sect.[259]

From the intercourse which subsisted between the Gauls and Germans, we may expect similar deities, and a similarity of worship. But, before this intercommunity was established, the objects of adoration in Germany were those common to most savages. These, about half a century before the christian æra, were the sun, fire, and the moon. Other deities were not known, even by report. Their rites were performed without sacrifice and without Druids.[260] But, in the time of Tacitus, near a century and a half after, Mercury, Mars, and Hercules were generally worshipped in Germany, and the Egyptian goddess Isis, by a part of the Suevi. And the knowledge of these was probably acquired through those emigrant Gallic tribes, which settled in Germany. On certain days they sacrificed human victims to Mercury; but usually other animals to Hercules and Mars.[261] It appears from the

[259] Spenser's View of the State of Ireland. See p. 58 of this Inquiry.

[260] C. J. Cæsar, L. 6, S. 20.

[261] Tacit. de Germ. S. 9; but in the Annals, L. 13, S. 57, he says that after a certain battle, the Catti and Hermunduri immolated the captive men and horses to Mars and Mercury.

accounts of Diodorus and Strabo, speaking of the Belgæ and Celtæ collectively, that the former also had Druids.

We learn from the Gothic names of the days of the week, which the Germans dedicated to those gods which the Romans selected for their denominations, that the number of heathen deities was afterward augmented in Germany.[262]

The Germans thought it a degradation to the Majesty of heaven to assimilate their idols to the human countenance, or to confine them within the limits of walls. Hence it is likely that their only enclosures, which it does not appear that Cæsar or Tacitus had ever explored, were the sacred woods, never defiled by the foot-steps of the laity; and their

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[262] Dies Solis, Sun-day (Sunne-dæg), was appropriated to the worship of the idol of the sun, which was represented under a female figure.

Dies Lunæ, Monday (Monan-dæg) to the idol of the Moon, represented under a female figure.

Dies Martis, Tuesday (Tues-dæg) to their idol Tuisco or Tun.

Dies Mercurii, Wednesday (Wednes-dæg) to their idol Woden or Mercury. The northern nations, on joining in battle, usually invoked this deity under the name of *Oden*.

Dies Jovis, Thursday (Thundres-dæg) Saxon; (Thors-dag, Danish) to their idol Thor or Thordan, Jupiter, God of thunder.

Dies Veneris, Friday (Frigæ-dæg) to Friga, Venus, who was worshipped in the form of a hermaphrodite.

Dies Saturni, Saturday (Seater dæg) to Seater, Saturn. His idol represented an old man standing upon a pillar supported by a fish: the right hand held a pail of water full of fruit; the left, a whale.

covering, the canopy of heaven. As the Germans had no temples, those places of worship probably consisted, as in Scandinavia, Britain and Ireland, of rude, erect pillars of stone, each within a few feet of the other, and the whole fixed in the form of a circle. Within the area a large flat stone, somewhat inclined, and called in Irish *Crom-leach*, was supported by two rows of low upright ones and this, it is said, was the altar of sacrifice. Many of these are yet preserved on the side, a few on the summit of mountains, and the latter were surrounded by circular walls of uncemented stone.

That several Celtic tribes should have crossed the narrow channel, which separates the present Scotland from Ireland, and settled

As the names of those days are the Gothic names of those deities to whom the Romans dedicated theirs, and as they constitute the German as well as the Roman week, it is likely they were introduced into Germany by the Gallic settlers from the south of Gaul.

The names of five of those days were adopted by the Irish from the Romans, and two, according to Doctor O'Brien, from the Belgic tribes of Ireland. The latter were Wednesday and Thursday. The former called Dia Ceden or Geden, the letter W of the German *Woden* being changed into the Celtic C or G. Thursday, *Dia Tor-dain:* hence *Toir-dhealbhach*, Turloch, a man's name, signifying the countenance of *Thor*. Hence also *Toran*, a great noise, and *Toirneach*, thunder, literally, the spirit of Jupiter.

On the other hand, the two latter names are affirmed by O'Flaherty to be Celtic, and are thus explained. Wednesday, *Ceut-aine*, signifies the *first fast* of the week. The fifth day, which occurs between the fourth and sixth, is called *Dia dardaine*, that is *dia edir dha aine*, the day between the two fasts. Ogyg. page 319.

in this isle, without Druids to preside over their religious rites, is a highly improbable circumstance. The assertion, however, is made by a respectable writer. But it is contradicted by the hereditary voice of tradition, by inscriptions upon stone, and by the use of the old Pelasgic alphabet, which in Britain and in Ireland was anciently known to the Druids only. Beside, many places in the Celtic parts of Ireland, are pointed out in Camden's Hibernia, which to this day commemorate the worship of the sun; and some of the Druids, who officiated, are still recorded in Irish history. The month of March anciently, that of May in the middle ages, were called *mi Beil ti-ne*, or the month of the fire of Beal;[263] and this is still the common Irish denomination for the latter month, although most of the remaining months are evidently derived from the Roman names, in all the varieties of the Celtic language.[264]

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[263] Rerum Hibern. Car. O'Conor, page 32. et prolegomena, page 69.—So late as the time of Buchanan, the Scotch used certain prayers and superstitious rites on kindling fires and lighting candles. Even at the present time in some parts of the south of Ireland, a neighbour is not permitted to remove fire for kindling, from a cottager's house, during the illness of any member of the family.

[264] Mixture of Fable and Fact, page 73, contains a list of the months in all the Celtic dialects, extracted from Lhuyd's comparative etymology.

As the religion, manners and customs of Gaul were transferred to Britain, with the Gallic colonies, the Druids or ministers of that religion, must also have accompanied their congregations. And the comparatively greater attention paid to the Druidic learning in Britain was probably owing to the intestine wars among the Celtæ of Gaul, and to the invasion of the Belgæ and Romans; which interrupted those rites, and obliged the principal Gallic Druids to retire to Britain for peace and security. Similar causes impelled the Druids from the south of Britain into Anglesea, the Isle of Man, and adjacent islands. It would be therefore absurd to suppose that the Irish had worshipped so many deities without ministers to assist them. On the contrary, it is probable that the Druids, who were not only priests, but possessed the power of civil magistrates, had both advised and headed the British emigrations to Ireland. The causes which induced the Gallic Druids to retire to Britain, urged the British Druids in early ages, and in the sixth and seventh centuries, the Gallic and British clergy also, to seek for asylums in Ireland.[265]

265 In the ninth century, similar violent measures practiced here during the Danish invasions, drove some of the Christian pastors into foreign countries, others into the most erii and retired nooks of Ireland; and, finally, banished learning from our ancient Scotia;

According to Camden, a block of siliceous breccia was discovered within the dominions of the Brigantes, upon the summit of a hill called Sliabh Greine, or the *Hill of the Sun;* this stone, which was supported by two or three unequal ones, bore this inscription:

BELI DIVOSE

If the word *Divose* be understood as a Celtic abbreviation of *Dionusos*, it may be remarked that the sun, worshipped in this country under the name of Beal, was also known in Britain under that of Dionusos,[266] which was one of the names of Bacchus, whose rites, according to Dionysius Periegesis, were celebrated by married women, in isles adjacent to Britain.[267] And it is probable that these rites were learned from the Phoceans of Marseilles, as the Athenians performed them with more solemnity than the other Grecian states.[268]

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[266] Gough's Camden, page 500.

[267] Verse 565. Juxta autem, parvarum insularum alius tractus, quò uxores hominum ex ulteriore ora illustrium Amnitarum profectæ peragunt Juxta ritum sacra Baccho, redimitæ hederæ nigra folia habentis corymbis, nocturnæ: strepitus autem tinnulæ (stridulus) excitatur sonitus ——

[268] Le grand Dict. histor. voce *Bacchanales*.

With respect to the customs and maxims of the Druids, as a body, the following account comprises all that is now known.

Their dress reached to the heel, and when they officiated, they wore over the shoulder a white surplice. Their hair was worn short; the beard long. An oval amulet, incased in gold, hung from the neck. The king's sagum was distinguished by seven colours; the Druidic by six, two more than those of the nobility. They bore in the hand a white wand. The magistrates were chosen annually by them, and the kings could not, without their consent, declare war or peace; nor even summon a council. They believed in the immortality of the soul, and, having embraced the doctrine of Metempsichosis, they abstained from flesh, milk and eggs.[269] They adored the Divine Being as supreme, and worshipped him under the name of *Esus*, in oak groves. Both they and the laity wore chaplets of that tree in their religious ceremonies, and strewed the altars with its leaves. The mistletoe was sought for on the sixth day of the moon, and when found, it

[269] Though the Britons, according to Cæsar, L. 5, 12, thought it impious to eat hares, pullets or geese, they were allowed the use of other kinds of meat.

was hailed with raptures of joy. Two white bulls, fastened by the horns to the tree which afforded the mistletoe, were then sacrificed, and the Deity invoked, to bless his own gift, as a sovereign remedy in diseases. Those consecrated groves were fenced round with stones, which were guarded by inferior Druids. The area in the centre was enclosed with several rows of large oaks set close. Within this large circle were several smaller ones, surrounded with immense stones; and near the centre of these smaller circles, were stones of a prodigious size, on which the victims were slain and offered.[270] While the religion of the Druids continued uncontaminated by foreign customs, they offered only oblations of fine flour, sprinkled with salt; but they afterward learned the barbarous custom of immolating human beings to Mercury.[271] These, who were chiefly prisoners of war, were either pierced upon the altars, with darts, crucified, or burned alive in piles of straw, or within large vessels of osier. They paid homage to the new moon. They instructed

[270] The uniformity of our numerous stone circles in the south of Ireland induces me to believe that the Druidic form of worship was adopted by the Belgæ of this island.

[271] Minucius Fel

the people to do unto others as they wished to be done by. They allowed women in common, but the man who married the virgin was to be the responsible father of the child. They placed great confidence in the eggs of serpents, in gaining lawsuits and the good opinion of princes. The Druids retired into caves with their pupils, and kept them sometimes twenty years under discipline. Here they taught the motion and magnitude of the heavens and earth, the course of the stars, the nature of things, the power and wisdom of God, &c. By means of their skill in foretelling the times and durations of eclipses, they pretended to have a familiar intercourse with the gods. They excommunicated the disobedient and rendered them incapable of any employment. They foretold events from the flow of blood. They prohibited all intercourse with strangers:[272] ordered children to be brought up apart from their parents until they attained the age of fourteen years. They taught that money lent in this world would be repaid in the next; and that they who killed themselves, to accompany their friends to the other

[272] Horat. Car. 4, L. 5, Vham Britannos hospitibus feros.

world, would live with them there; that letters, given to dying persons or thrown on the funeral pile, would be faithfully delivered to departed spirits. They made all the masters of families kings in their own houses, and conferred upon them a power of life and death over their slaves, wives and children.[273]

A comparison of these Druidic rites, with those of eastern nations, denotes the source whence they came: for instance, the Druidic custom of sacrificing human beings, was common to the Carthaginians, Ammonites, Egyptians, Persians, Neurians, Romans, &c. The Romans, Egyptians and Thracians, believed in the immortality of the soul. The Brachmans and Grecians in the transmigration. The Jews and Athenians excommunicated the refractory. The Athenians and some eastern philosophers obliged their pupils to commit their poetic precepts to memory; and the Egyptians disguised their learning in parables or hieroglyphics. The Jews, Phenicians and Athenians computed time by nights, in place of days, as well as the Gauls and Germans.

Ware says, the ancient Irish worshipped Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Apollo, Diana or

[273] Dictionary of the Heathen Gods.

the moon, and the wind; and they had also their mountain and river gods.[274] Most of those were derived immediately from Britain, but some directly, and all remotely from Gaul. Jocelin, in his life of St. Patrick, informs us, that the Irish also worshipped an idol of gold and silver called *Ceann-Croithi*, or, according to others, *Crom-Cruach*, which it is said, signified the heads of all the gods. These, as in Gaul and Germany, were adored under Celtic and Gothic names, were twelve in number,[275] made of brass, and they surrounded the carved idol of gold and silver.[276] They also worshipped the idol of stone, called *Cloch-oir*, or the stone of gold; whence the name of a town, in the county Tyrone, called Clogher. Another stone was likewise an object of adoration among the ancient Irish: its appellation was *Lia-fail*, or the stone of destiny. This, to which many wonders were ascribed, was transported from Ireland to Scotland, and thence to Westminster Abbey, where it is said to be now fixed to the bottom of the old-fashioned coronation chair of our kings.[277]

[274] Antiq. Hib. C. 5.

[275] Their names have not descended to posterity. In point of number they agree exactly with the *Consentes* of the Romans, who, according to Ennius, were twelve superior divinities constituting the council of Jupiter.

[276] Digg. page 198. [277] Vide page 23.

The common oath in Ireland was, by the sun and moon, or, by the sun, wind and elements.[278] O'Flaherty informs us, that the chief persons of Ireland in the second century swore allegiance to O'Tool, by the sun, moon, and other deities celestial and terrestrial.[279]

The first christian converters in Ireland finding that the Pagans of this isle had some conceptions, though erroneous, of heaven and hell, adopted, with the view of lessening the obstacles to conversion, those Celtic appellations for both, which they found here in use. And these names are still continued by the Irish, who are as ignorant of their origin or original import, as the generality of the English are of the present names of our week-days, being equally heathen. One of those denominations is *Flath-Innis*, now pronounced Flath-oo-nas—heaven; the literal meaning of which is, *the Island of the Lord or Governor*. In this island, the Druids supposed, 'there was an eternal spring and an immortal youth: the sun shed always there its kindest influence. Gentle breezes fanned it, and streams of ever equal currents watered it. The trees were alive with music,

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[278] See p. 128, note [98] of this Inquiry. [279] Ogyg. page 304.

and bending to the ground with flowers and fruit. The face of nature, always unruffled and serene, diffused on every creature happiness, and wore a perfect smile of joy; whilst the inhabitants, strangers to every thing that could give pain, enjoyed one eternal scene of calm festivity and gladness. In short, every disagreeable idea was removed from the Druidic Flath-innis. The situation of this place seems to have been in some calm upper region, beyond the reach of every evil which infests this lower world.' The belief in this Celtic heaven not only inspired this people with courage, but with a degree of rashness in encountering danger, to which other nations were utter strangers.

The Druidic hell was called *I-fur-in*, contracted from *Ibh-fuar-in—the island of the cold land.* This was believed 'to be a dark, dismal region, which no ray of light ever visited. It was infested with every animal of the vile and venomous kind. There serpents stung and hissed, lions roared and wolves devoured. The most criminal were confined to caverns or lower dungeons, still more horrible: in the bottom of these they were almost immersed in snakes, whilst the roof constantly distilled poison. The cold

too was so intense, in all these thrilling regions of thick ribbed ice, that the bodies of the inhabitants, which were supposed to be of a gross and cloggy nature, on account of their guilt, might have been in a moment frozen to death, if it were possible for death to relieve them.'[260]

The remaining terms, connected with the Christian religion, which were not known to those Pagans, are derived from the Roman language.

LANGUAGE.

THE primitive Celtic in Gaul, probably suffered some corruption before and after the first century, from the partial intercourse of its inhabitants, the Celtæ, with the Aquitani, the Belgæ, the Phocean Greeks, and the Roman colonists, who differed in languages, customs and manners. The most ancient Britons, on the other hand, having, according to Richard, emigrated from Gaul

[260] Dictionary of the Heathen Gods.

1000 years before Christ, may be supposed to have transported their language in greater purity. These, however, in succeeding ages, were followed by later adventurers, from the same country, who mingled the corruption of Gaul with the British Celtic, which, in after ages, became a dialect resembling the Gallic of the first century.[281]

After Britain had been peopled with those Celtic and Belgic Gauls, some of the first settlers were probably compelled by the later adventurers to pass over to Ireland, whither, it may be reasonably supposed, they transported the Celtic without foreign admixture. And as Ireland naturally presented a more fertile soil and a milder climate than the north of Britain, it is likely it received inhabitants before the latter.

Exclusive of the causes, which tended to operate before and after the first century, in corrupting the Celtic of Britain, the intercourse with the Romans, their auxiliaries, who were chiefly Germans, and with other foreign settlers during five centuries, tended still more to effect a change. In Ireland, it is probable, some alteration had also been effected by time, before the arrival of the

[281] Tac. Agric. S. 11. Sermo haud multum diversus.

Belgæ, which occurred in the first century, and a still further alteration before the æras of the emigration from Britain to Armorica, Wales and Cornwall. But, if Mr. Llhuyd be correct in asserting, that the language of the Brigantes of Cumberland resembled the Irish more than the British of Wales, or that of Cornwall, it may be inferred, that the Belgæ, who were engaged chiefly with the Brigantes, the principal Celtic tribe in Ireland, had not only learned their dialect, but diffused it through all the conquered provinces of this country.

In the first century the British tongue, according to Tacitus, differed but little from the Gallic,[282] or in other words, was but a dialect of it. And in the twelfth, Giraldus Cambrensis informs us, that the descendants of those Britons, who in the first, fourth, fifth and sixth century had settled in Armorica, were intelligible to those of Wales and Cornwall,[283] who retired thither from Saxon tyranny in the sixth and seventh. It hence follows, that the British tongue had suffered

[282] Sec. 11.

[283] Cambriæ descrip. L. 6. Cornubienses vero et Armoricani Britonum lingua utuntur fere persimili, Cambris tamen propter originem et convenientiam in multis adhuc et fere cunctis intelligibili. —— Et annotatio in Cap. 1 Cambr. Des. David Poveli.

no considerable change between the first and twelfth, or during eleven centuries, either in Armorica or Britain. On the other hand, it appears, that the dialect of the Irish, and of the high land of Caledonia, compared with those dialects of the former septs, or with the Pictish, was so dissimilar in the eighth century as to have been considered a different language;[284] whence it may be concluded that the first British settlement in Ireland had been long anterior to that of Armorica; but the most likely cause was the prevalence in Ireland of the Brigantian language, which was a dialect of the Celtæ, more free from the Cimbric mixture in the Welsh and from the Belgic mixture in the Cornish and Armorican, than any of these tongues.

The difference between the Irish dialect and that of either of the other septs may be in part owing also to collateral causes. The Cimbri of Britain, the Roman German allies and other German settlers in Britain, probably

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[284] Though the affinity was then probably remote, the venerable Bede and others erred in their opinion, for Bishop Nicolson says that out of four hundred and thirty Irish words, one hundred and sixty agree in meaning and sound with the British or Welsh. In the Mixture of Fable and Fact, p. 39. a few British sentences are extracted from the letter A to E, in Baxter's Glossary, which are manifestly Irish also.

used dialects different from those of the Belgæ and Cauci of Ireland.[884] Hence the greater and different Gothic corruption of the British varied from the Gothic corruption of the Irish; as the Gothic Cimbric of Iceland varied from the other Gothic dialects of the Norwegians, Danes and Swedes, or as either of these differed from the other. The intercourse between the Picts and Scots of Ireland with the Britons, from the first to the fifth century, if not for centuries before the first, having been of a hostile nature, it not only tended to prevent an assimilation of dialects, but to preserve their respective corruptions unmixed.[885] And we may infer from the secession of the Picts from the South Britons, their enmity to them after the Roman invasion, and

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[884] Inquiry touching the diversity of languages, by Edward Brerewood, professor of astronomy, page 21. Of fourteen languages or mother tongues, this author considers the old Cauchian in East Frisland one, although the Cauchi spoke Dutch also.

[885] The near affinity between the British dialects is an argument in favour of the short time of separation of those tribes or septs. A distant affinity on the other hand, would lead us to suppose that the era of separation had been proportionally remote, if Llhuyd's observation, respecting the Brigantian dialect, did not oppose this mode of reasoning with regard to the Irish.—O'Brien, who includes the Irish, supposed 'that the difference of their dialects is nearly in a direct ratio of the length of time elapsed since their separation, and, consequently, their affinity must always be in an inverse ratio of that same space of time!'

their seclusion from the Belgæ of Britain, that the Celtic dialect of the Picts continued purer than that of the South Britons.

Although a change is effected in every language in the course of ages, still, if we take into consideration the probable time of the separation of Gallic tribes, we may conclude that in the first century the ancient Gallic, British, Pictish and Irish were dialects intelligible to each of these people. This inference may be deduced from various facts. The design of Julius Cæsar to invade Britain was communicated by Gallic traders to the Britons. Gallic youth were instructed, through the medium of the British language, by the Druids. Their religion, manners and customs were the same. The similitude of language is confirmed by Tacitus, who uniformly calls the Picts, Britons, as other early writers do. A constant intercourse was kept up with the Picts by the Irish, by whom the former were instructed in the christian religion.[27] Ireland is called by early foreign

[27] Eccles. Hist. gentis Anglor. ven. Bede, Lib. 5. A. D. 565, Columba presbyter, de Scottia venit Britanniam ad docendos Pictos, et in insula Hii (Aoi) monasterium fecit. And St. Adamnan also preached there in the seventh century.

writers, an island of *Britain*, and its inhabitants *Britons*. We are informed, in the life of St. Patrick, that an Irish youth, who was instructed in the elements of literature only, was sent to Gaul for the benefit of education. The British clergy, even so late as the fifth century, preached among the Irish; and some Irish pastors in Gaul. St. Cyprian and St. Augustine preached in Latin to the Roman colonists in Africa, among whom that language was corrupted. And as St. Augustine acknowledges that he used words 'that were no Latine to the end they might understand him,'[288] it may be inferred that the Roman British and Gallic missionaries in Ireland delivered their discourses in the Gallic or British language, but used Roman ecclesiastical words, which have descended to us, because they could not be expressed in the Celtic.

The primitive inhabitants of Ireland and of Caledonia, having been Celts ignorant of letters, we may presume, as I have already insinuated, that of all the Celtic dialects, theirs continued to be the freest from corruption, until the first or second century.

[288] Inquiry touching the diversity of languages, by E. Brerewood, page 29.

The paucity of general terms, of tenses, of words and their barbarous collocation in the Irish dialect of the Celtic, are proofs of the antiquity of the language. If from the vocabulary, we were to abstract those words of Belgic and Roman derivation, the remaining ones would be scarcely sufficient to express the most common ideas of simple and rude nations. Owing to the poverty of the Celtic language, many words, as in the Hebrew, must necessarily convey several, and often opposite, meanings; consequently, the interpretation of many of the ancient Irish names of our mountains and low lands must, from this ambiguity, be, at best, conjectural.

This primitive language, considered as distinct from and uncorrupted by the Gothic, has been long since lost in the east, where it originated: in this west and distant isle, however, notwithstanding the introduction of other languages, many words of the original Celtic seem to be still preserved; a circumstance owing, among other causes, to it having always been more an oral than a written tongue. The opinion which St. Adamnan entertained of the Irish dialect,

about the close of the seventh century, is given in his life of St. Colomba. In this he admonishes the readers of a work, written by St. Colomba, to attend to the subject, not to the language, which appeared to him both low and unpolished; and not on account of some words in that tongue, which, he says, is in truth a vile language, to despise the pronunciation of the useful names of acts effected by divine aid.[20]

M. Pezron has made out a long list of Armorican words, and Doctor O'Brien's dictionary contains many Irish ones, from which, they say, that similar words in the Greek and Latin are derived; but many of those words being found only in some of those dialects of the Celtic, and not in the rest, it follows, that those dialects in which they are found, had received them from the Greeks and Latins. The few syllables in Irish words are no proof of foreign derivatives from them, as some persons affirm; for the Irish

[20] Vet. Epis. Hib. Sylloge, Jacob. Usser. Epis. 14.—Et res magis quàm verba perpendant, quæ, ut æstimo, inculta et vilia esse videntur.——Et nec ob aliqua *Scotica*, vilia videlicet linguæ, aut humana onomata, aut gentium obscura loquamve vocabula —— utilium, et non sine divinâ opitulatione gestarum, despiciant rerum pronunciationem.

names of the months, week days, numerals and of the religious words, which are manifestly derived from the Latin, are abbreviated in conformity with the original character of the Irish language. Had those learned authors stated that the Greek and Latin languages owe much to the Gothic, their assertion would probably be well founded.

If the language of Wales were Cimbric, as Mr. Pinkerton asserts, it would consequently be Gothic,[200] which is not the fact. The Cornish and Armoric, which Gir. Cam. says were in the twelfth century intelligible to each of those people, and to the Welsh, would be also Gothic. And the Cimbri, or similar Gothic tribes, must either have been the primitive inhabitants of Britain,[201] or have

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[200] Julius Cæsar, Lib. 1, Sec. 40, speaking of the Germans, considers the Cimbri as such. And, lib. 2, sec. 29, speaking of the Atuatici, a Belgic tribe, says, they were descended from the Teutones and Cimbri, who, on their march to Italy, left the ancestors of the Atuatici on the Gallic side of the Rhine to protect their baggage. 'Ipsi erant ex Cimbris Teutonisque prognati: qui, quum iter in provinciam nostram atque Italiam facerent, his impedimentis, quæ secum agere ac portare non poterant, citra flumen Rhenum depositis, custodiæ ac præsidio VI millia hominum una reliquerunt.' Eutropius, Lib. 5, 1, also calls the Cimbri Germans.

[201] Accordingly, some late authors venture to affirm that the first inhabitants of Britain were Kimmerians, whom they denominate Cimbri, and confound with the Celtæ. It is, however, doubtful that the Kimmerians

obtained possession of the greater part of this island before the invasion of the Romans. However, the same regard for truth, which induced me, in the Essay on the Mixture of Fable and Fact, to differ with Mr. Pinkerton on this subject, demands this avowal, that not only the Welsh, as he asserts, but the

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were either Cimbri or descendants of them, and certain that the Cimbri were not Celts, a nation solely and properly Gauls. The assertion relative to the origin of the Britons is not even a plausible conjecture.

Cæsar and Suetonius assure us that the Gallic language differed from the German which was spoken by the Belgæ; and, according to Tacitus, the former nearly resembled the British language. Consequently, as the Celtæ of Gaul were then a distinct people, the Britons, who used nearly a similar language, could not have been descendants of the Cimbri, who not only were a Gothic people, but used the Gothic dialect.

In former parts of this work I have endeavoured to ascertain the origin of the Britons from the most authentic sources of information, which I conceive to be the unanimous and hereditary voice of those nations which had been cotemporary with, and seated nearest on the east to, ancient Gaul and Britain. This information communicated from age to age to the early Saxons of that isle, accounts for the compilers of their chronology denominating the inhabitants of nine of its shires, *Wealas*, *Walen*, or *Bryt Wealas*, and the Britons of Galloway *Wales*; names of the same import as Geallas, Galen, Bryt-Gealas, Gales or Gail. And even so late as the sixth century, the present Wales was called by its own inhabitants *Wallia*, which signifies Gallia or Gaul. But when the Silures, Dimetæ and Ordovices of Wales were attacked by the Saxons on every side, Mr. Whitaker informs us that "they threw off their former appellation entirely, and have ever since distinguished themselves by the general appellation of *Cymri*." See Mixture of Fable and Fact, p. 32. This learned antiquary also informs us that the Voluntii of Brigantia, in the sixth century, when they were pressed by the Saxons from the east, changed their name in like manner to that of *Cumri*, whence the present appellation *Cumberland*.

Cornish and Armorican languages contained a greater mixture of Gothic with the Celtic than I then imagined.[202]

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[202] It has been the uniform opinion of scholars versed in oriental tongues that some passages in Plautus and the names of a few numbers are the only remains of the Carthaginian language. Yet it is now affirmed it was Celtic. This opinion rests upon the authority of a late writer, General Vallancy, who, by the alteration of the letters and an arbitrary division of the words of three or four corrupted Carthaginian lines in Plautus, has converted them into a sort of Irish, which, I believe, no good Irish scholar could translate. If the General had taken a similar liberty with many lines in the Hebrew or Sclavonic languages, it is probable he would have succeeded equally well. Dean Swift has shown us how to choose Latin words, which sound like English.—'Is his honor sic? Præ læt-us fel-is puls, &c.' It does not hence follow that the Latin words convey the English meaning; nor does the forced or casual version into questionable Irish prove it has any affinity with the Carthaginian.

From a passage consisting of ten Punic lines in the fifth act of Pœnulus, the General selects the following line:

Bythym mothym nochthil nelechthanti dinnachen.

This he alters into

Beith lioth I mo thyme noctaithe niel ach anti daise maccoine.

In the London edition of Plautus published by James Tonson, 1711, all the Carthaginian passages are printed in the Hebrew or Syriac characters as well as in the Roman. The above line, corrected by Sam. Bochart, a learned oriental linguist, thus appears:

Bythym moth ynot othi helech Antidamiction.

The first scene of the fifth act opens with a Punic speech consisting of the ten lines above alluded to, and delivered by Hanno the Carthaginian. It is followed by six lines, of which the first is nearly the same as the first of the preceding ten, and these Bochart supposed to be Lybian, a Punic dialect. Ten Latin lines succeed these, and the scene closes. As they are likewise delivered by Hanno and invoke the Deities of Rome to enable him to find his stolen daughters and nephew, I believe they contain the import of the ten Punic. Otherwise it would be silly to introduce a principal character upon the stage delivering a speech upon a different subject, to an audience ignorant of the Carthaginian language

LETTERS.

THE vanity of Irish writers has induced them to affirm, that the letters of their present alphabet, which are probably not older than the ninth or tenth century, were used by the bards more than one thousand years before the christian æra; that they are of Phenician

In the third scene the General gives us two lines of which the first, he says, is Carthaginian and Irish, without the change of a word or letter.

Handone silli hanum bene, silli in mustine.
Whenever she (Venus) grants a favor, she grants it linked with misfortunes.

The other Carthaginian line,

Meipsi & en este dum & a lamna cestin um,

he alters into

Meisi & an eiste dam & alaim na cestin um,
Hear me and judge, and do not too hastily question me.

In the edition above alluded to, and now in my possession, the uncorrected run thus:

Puer, the *boy*:—Handones illi havon bene si illi in mustine.
Giddineme, the *nurse*:—Me ipsi & eneste dum & alamna cestinum.

These sentences are thus altered and corrected by Sám. Petitus:

The *boy*:—Hau colni, sulli. The *nurse*:—Hau on beni, sulli, umastini.
Me? ipsi & enes & dum & almana cesti nini.

According to this division of the first sentence, three words only are spoken by the boy: the remainder by the nurse. Further, the supposed meaning of the latter line is inappropriate; for the boy, according to the translation of the former, does not appeal to the nurse, nor ask any question.

If one whole corrupted sentence be found to be Irish without the alteration of a letter, and the other two lines so like the Irish, as the General asserts, it is very extraordinary that, in place of culling out but a few sentences, the General had not proved the remainder of the corrupted or corrected Carthaginian sentences in Plautus to be Irish also.

The Punic language is supposed to have at first been Phenician, allied to the Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Syriac. In proportion as it differs from the Irish so do the letters.

origin, and were brought by the Milesians from Egypt to Spain.[293] But, waving the fact that Phenician letters were originally but thirteen in number, the dissimilitude between the Irish and the Phenician, or their derivatives, the ancient Hebrew, the Chaldaic, the Punic, the Pelasgian, or any of the sub-derivatives of these, is so striking, as to excite our wonder, that any writer, but a Milesian bard, could claim any of these as prototypes, except through the intervention of Roman letters. As to the Coptic, or Egyptian alphabet, which is like the ancient Greek, and immediately derived from it, it contains eighteen letters, among which I find three, H, K and Q, not used by the Irish.

The Gothic dominion among the Celtæ of Ireland, should rather induce the Irish historian to look to Gothic regions for our elements of literature, or, according to the scope of Irish history, to Spain, where the Celtic language was spoken by its primitive inhabitants, and where the Bastulan, or

[293] Hist. d'Irland, par l'Abbe Ma Geogh. Tom. 1, p. 35. Quant à ceux qui pensent que les Milesiens avoient reçu leurs caracteres immediatement des Phenicians, leur sentiment paroit plus vraisemblable, à cause du commerce que ces peuples eurent ensemble; soit en Espagne soit en Irlande.

Spanish Phenician, and the Ionic Greek characters were early used. But, unfortunately for the fiction of bards, the ancient Gothic[204] were immediately derived from the Ionic Greek, as well as the ancient Spanish, which were twenty-four in number; and the Bastulan alphabet, which has the letters Q and K beside the C, is too immediately allied to the Phenician[205] to have any resemblance to the Irish characters, except through their Roman prototypes; of which the Irish are manifestly a barbarized variety. The Gothic and Phenician languages too differed from each other, and from the Celtic, as much as the Sclavonic differed from either.

As the source of Irish literature cannot be discoverable in romance, it must be sought for through facts and inferences. The children of the British nobility were, according to Tacitus, instructed in the Roman learning, under the patronage of Agricola, in the first century.[206] The letters first used by them

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[204] This alphabet, which is supposed to have been used in the fourth century, contains the following letters, which were not used by the Irish: h, k, q, w, z.

[205] Astle on the Origin and Progress of Writing, Plate I.

[206] C. C. Tac. Agric. Sec. 21. Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre.

must consequently have been the Italic.[297] These were barbarized in Britain, about the sixth century by the British Romans, the Roman Britons and foreign auxiliaries. Similar letters were used in France, from the seventh to the tenth century, where some Irish persons had at an early period received instruction.[298] And, as some of the British clergy came over to Ireland in the supposed time of St. Patrick,[299] it is probable that those barbarized letters were introduced either by the former or the latter into Ireland.

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[297] Astle, Origin of Writing, page 96.

[298] Nouveau traité de Diplomatique, page 571. The earliest copy extant of those letters called Gailic by some, and Saxon by others, is exhibited in the missal of St. Colomba. They are of the seventh century, and were then used in France as well as in Ireland. Rer. Hib. vet. C. O'Conor, Tom. 1, page 129.

[299] France was also frequented by the Irish, as we find by the authors cited by Usher; Antiq. of Ireland, page 164. — Jocelin's life of St. Patrick, p. 122. 'A boy named *Olc-an*, by St. Patrick, having been instructed in letters, went into Gaul, where, after a long stay, he acquired much learning. On his return to Ireland he instituted schools and taught many scholars, who in after times were holy bishops.' And, page 144, 'The bishop St. Mel, together with Munius and Riochus, came from Britannia into Hiberaia and assisted St. Patrick in preaching.' And again, page 183, 'soon shall a servant of the Lord arrive from Britain, named Moccheus, who, for the sake of God, deserting his country and his parents, shall come into Hibernia.'

Hist. Monast. du Royaume d'Irlande, page 78. 'A *Mayo*, autrement *Mageo* — il y a eu un celebre abbaye fondée en 665, par S. Colman, — ou il amena bon nombre de moines Anglois et Irlandois.

On the other hand, the Saxons were unacquainted with letters, A. D. 452:[200] they were idolaters when St. Augustine arrived, A. D. 596, and writing, according to Astle, was little practised there until after that period, when Hickes says the Saxon letters then used differed from those of his time.[201] Many of the Saxon youth were sent to Ireland in the seventh century to be educated.[202] But two centuries previous, we had learned men in Ireland. Saint Ibar in the fifth century, according to Usher, founded a monastery in Beg Eire, a small island near the Wexford coast, in which the Irish were instructed in sacred literature and in the sciences. Hanmer, Usher and Stillingfleet affirm, that Saint Brendan, who died A. D. 577,[203] publicly read lectures on the liberal sciences[204] in Ros Ailithri, now Ross Carbury,[205]

[200] Origin of Writing, page 96.

[201] Instit. Gram. Anglo-Sax. &c.

[202] Life of Sulgenus —— and Bede, lib. 3. chap. 3.

[203] Nicolson's Irish Hist. Libr.

[204] Antiq. of Ireland, page 163, &c. These, according to Mr. Ledwich, were grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy. Martianus Capella was an author of the fifth century. His book comprized those sciences, and was used in the French monasteries in the sixth century, and was probably taught as a classic in Ireland, as Duncant, an Irish bishop, delivered lectures on it in the monastery of St. Remigius in Down.

[205] St. Fachnan, according to Alemand's Hist. Mon. d'Irl. p. 55 and p. 360, founded an abbey and college here in the sixth century.

and Bede says, there were some learned men in Ireland in the seventh century, when the Saxon kings of Northumberland, Oswald and his brother Oswi were educated there. We may conclude from those facts, that as the first instruction could not be communicated by scholars to their masters, the Irish could not have received the first letters from the Saxons, who were ignorant of every alphabet before the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. On the contrary, the Saxons as pupils must have received those called after themselves either from Irish or British instructors.

The omission of K, Q, V, X, in the Roman and Irish alphabets; the remaining letters of the latter corresponding with that of the former in number and identity; the primitive power of those letters being similar in both; the circumstance of F being used by the Latins and Irish in place of V, which was introduced into the Roman alphabet about the middle of the first century, prove that the Irish letters are of Roman origin, and that the Irish must have learned them soon after the British were first instructed; and, as the Romans were never in Ireland,

receeived them through the medium of Gallic or Roman British missionaries.[206]

The Damni or Tuatha De Danánn, as I have observed before, probably brought letters with them when they formed a second settlement here; but it does not appear that the knowledge of them had extended beyond the limits of their territory in the north of Ireland, or that those letters were much used among themselves.

A vagrant life of rapine, of indolence and of poverty, the barbarity of the early and middle ages, and the continued change of place in Buailidhe, are repugnant to the idea of a literary education having been in those days general in Ireland. And, from the encouragement which idle bards and seanachies or story tellers, had met with, it may be inferred that Irish chieftains either disdained learning, or were too indolent to acquire it. And, indeed, the acquisition must then have been attended with considerable pains, for, until the eighth century, capitals were chiefly used, contractions were common, and the words were written not only without stops, but without separation.

[206] Mixture of Fable and Fact, p. 68.

As the Irish clergy usually wrote in Latin, and as the orthography of the Irish language seems not to have been much attended to, probably, before the tenth century, I am induced to believe that no literary work of merit had been ever written in the latter tongue. And, on considering the epoch of christian instruction in Ireland, and making a due allowance for the time which a barbarous people would require for education, it is not likely that this island produced any learned men before the fifth century. Further, on account of invasions by the pagan Danes, who not only interrupted the course of learning in Britain, as well as in Ireland, but destroyed many of our libraries, it may be inferred that from the eighth until the twelfth, our literary characters were few in number.[397] The opinion of a learned foreigner of the ninth century on the state of Irish literature may be deduced from his letter, dated March 23rd A. D. 875, to Charles the Bald, in which he ascribes to Divine Grace, the Latin translation of the works of St. Denis, by Johannes Erigena or Scotus, for, without the special

[397] Mixture of Fable and Fact, p. 69.

aid of the spirit of God, he says, such a production could not be completed by a Scottish barbarian from the extreme end of the world.[328]

I have insinuated that the earliest literary works of Irish authors are not so old as the æra of the introduction of Christianity in Ireland; and this opinion receives additional support from the bardic ignorance of the state of Ireland in the second century, for they blended the Belgic and Celtic tribes

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[328] Anastatius, a Roman abbot and librarian of the Roman church.—However, this writer may have been as ignorant of the state of Ireland as he is by some supposed to have been of John's country.—The only John, of whom Asser speaks, was a Saxon, whom Ælfred raised to the dignity of abbot in the monastery of Etheling (Æthelingaeg); Asser. de Ælfr. rebus gest. p. 18.——primitus Johannem presbyterum monachum, scilicet Exld. Saxonum genere abbatem constituit. And the character for learning which he gives him, agrees exactly with that which the annals of the monastery of Winchester apply to Johannes Erigena, who, according to those, read lectures on geometry and astronomy in Oxford. Archbishop Usher informs us that Johannes Erigena was a Saxon and a celebrated member of St. David's monastery, and was called a Scot, because he had been in Ireland. Antiq. Britan. p. 74. Ea ætate (circa A. D. 872), Johannes Erigena, natione Exldesaxo (dictus Scotus, quòd in Hybernia versaretur) in monasterio, S. Davidis Menevia claruit. But, the annals of the monastery of Winchester discriminate the member of St. David's from Johannes Erigena, and state that both at the same time gave lectures in Oxford; the former on logic, music, and arithmetic. The seeming impracticability of procuring masters qualified to instruct the great Ælfred in reading and writing, before he had attained the age of manhood, tends to evince that Ireland produced few literary men in the ninth century. See Asser de Ælfr. reb. gest. page 5.

into one family. They brought the Brigantes, a British tribe, under the name of Milesians, from Scythia to Egypt; thence to Crete; from Crete to Scythia; from Scythia to Gothia; from Gothia to Spain; from Spain to Scythia; from Scythia again to Egypt; from Egypt to Thrace; from Thrace to Gothia; from Gothia to Spain, and from Spain to Eirin.[329] And they assigned them as companions, as countrymen and as near relatives in their voyages, the Eibhearni of Ptolemy, the chief of the Belgic tribes, beside some subordinate ones of this family. And, as if their narrative required further evidence of ignorance, several of those bards affirm that Heremon, the supposed chief of the Brigantes, possessed the north half of Ireland,[330] when, according to Ptolemy's map, it appears that in the second century, the Brigantes occupied the counties Kilkenny and Carlow only, and several other co-existent tribes, distinct situations.

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[329] Keating's History of Ireland, p. 231 and 253.

[330] The Book of Invasions, the Psalter of Cashel, the Works of Giolla Coamhain and of Torna Eigis assert that, the provinces of Conacht and Ulster were the property of Heremon: other Irish authors fix him in Munster.

NUMERALS.

The Irish numerals are, according to Mr. Astle, exactly like those of the Spaniards and the Indian or Arabian copy of John de Sacrobosco, an English arithmetician of the thirteenth century. The Irish alphabetic numerals are like those, which the Romans borrowed from the Greeks. As the Indian figures were not brought into Europe before the middle of the tenth century, the Irish and Spaniards could have had no knowledge of them before that time, when the Saracens or European travellers introduced them from the east; and, accordingly, the alphabetic numerals in which the Irish were probably instructed by the Roman British clergy, are found in their most ancient writings, and even in those of the thirteenth century. The Irish names of numbers, from one to a hundred, are, with few exceptions, manifestly derived from the Latin.[m]

[m] In page 72, Mixture of Fable and Fact, a list of the numerical names in all the varieties of the Celtic is given, and collated with the Latin.

CHRONOLOGY.

CAMDEN says, that in comparison of the antiquity of Irish history, that of other nations is in its infancy; but the Spaniards, Welsh and other people also endeavoured to trace their histories to the patriarchal ages.[32] Much learning but little judgment have in late ages been expended upon the subject of Irish chronology. It however, requires no great depth of penetration to be assured of its want of authenticity.

The data for the computation of time were various among the Irish; but the epoch of the Incarnation was never used here before the eighth, nor was it general before the eleventh century. O'Halloran, a Philo-Milesian, informs us, that it was customary with the Seanachies to reckon a new æra 'from all uncommonly remarkable events.'[33]

In consequence, some historiographers commence their history from the building of *Eabhan Macha*, a real or fictitious metropolis

[32] In the 9th century, Asser, though a man of learning, attempted to trace the genealogy from Adam down to Ælfred the great Anglo-Saxon King. Johan. Asserus de Ælfr. reb. gest. p. 1.

[33] O'Halloran's Introd. to the Study of the History and Antiquities of Ireland, p. 37.

of the Ultonians or Voluntii, which, they say, was founded 306 years before Christ; a date which preceded the arrival of that tribe about three and a half centuries. Other Seanachies, probably in compliment to their chieftains, computed more recent transactions from an annual supper, which, they say, was first given A. D. 455 by Laoghaire; or, from the year 478, in commemoration of a remarkable battle, which, it is said, had been fought between a son of this Laoghaire and Oiliol. Others, actuated by a silly vanity, foisted æras into Irish history, coeval with the patriarchal times.[24] These were forged after the sixth century when learning began to dawn in our cloisters; and the forgery was not only considered in the light of true history, but received with a sort of veneration by every subsequent Philo-Milesian. Two curious specimens of those fictions are preserved in the Bodleian and Cottonian libraries, of which some are extracted from the annals of Inisfallen, an island in the lake of Killarney (Cill-airne); some from the annals of Buellia in Conacht.

[24] See Keating, O'Flaherty, &c. passim. — Tigernach, of the eleventh century, is the only Philo-Milesian writer, except Dr. O'Brien, who doubts the authenticity of all monuments of the Scots, anterior to three hundred years before the Incarnation.

ANNALES INISFALIÆ, WRITTEN A. D. 1215.

Codex Bodl. Rawlinson, No. 503.

FOL. I. COL. III. — Ossa Joseph in Sichem sepulta sunt. Hoc tempore ro gabhsat Fir Bolg Er.

The bones of Joseph were buried in Sichem. At this time the Belgæ obtained possession of Erin.

FOL. I. COL. IV. — Natus est Moyses. Hoc tempore ro gabhsat Tuatha Den for Er. Moyses sepultus est in Moab. Meic Mileadh do gabhail Erenn.

Moses is born. At this time the Tuatha De Danán took possession of Ireland. Moses was buried in Moab. The sons of Milesius possess Erin.

FOL. IV. — Finit quarta ætas mundi.

The fourth age of the world has terminated.*

* This is supposed to include the time from David to the building of Babylon; or, according to others, the time from the departure of Moses from Egypt until the building of Solomon's temple.

ANNALES BUELLIÆ, WRITTEN A. D. 1253.

Codex Cot. Tit A. 25.

FOL. II. — Anno LX. ætatis Abraham, tenuit Partholanus, mac Seru, mac Esru, Hiberniam, qui primus regnavit ibidem.

In the 60th year of Abraham's age, Partholan, or Bartholemew, son of Seru, the son of Esru, seized Ireland and was the first who reigned there.

FOL. III. — Tempore Moysis acceperunt Tutha Dedannand fortitudinem et potestatem for Feraib-Bolcc. kl. kl. kl. kl. Mc Miled in Hiberniam hoc tempore venerunt.

In the time of Moses the Tuatha De Danan overcame the Belgæ. At this time (denoted by those marks kl. repeated, which I do not understand) the sons of Milesius arrived in Ireland.[35]

[35] Rer. Hib. scrip. vet. Car. O'Conor, page 40.

As literature had made no progress in Ireland before the introduction of christianity, it is evident, that no remote event in Irish history could be dated from the patriarchal or christian æras, which were not known to those bards or historians before the fourth century; neither could it be founded upon tradition, as oral information cannot be depended upon, after the lapse of a century. If any accuracy could be expected in Irish chronology, it would be first sought for in the monkish account of the time in which our abbeys, priories and convents were built; but even this account was found by the writers of Irish monastic history so devoid of exactness, that Alemand, to whom later authors on this subject are greatly indebted, says, 'of all chronologies, the Irish is perhaps one of the most confused; mais la chronologie d'Irlande est peut-estre une des plus broüillées qu'il y ait.'[a] And it may be also affirmed, that, although our seanachies were, probably, at an early period subsequent to the introduction of the christian religion, acquainted with the subdivision of time into weeks, months and years, they had previously no knowledge of

[a] Hist. Mon. du royaume d'Irlande, page 38.

the year of the world, nor any common fixed epoch to guide them in historical research. That the ancient Gallic and British Druids had made some progress in those studies in which they were instructed by the Phoceans of Marseilles, I have no doubt; but I believe their literary attainments were interrupted in Britain by the Roman arms in the first century, and annihilated in Ireland before the fifth, by incessant rapine and general tumult.

TRADE.

Diodorus says the British islands in his time were the least known.[37] And Julius Cæsar in the same age informs us that Britain was little known even to the Gauls, who traded thither.[38] The earliest account of

[37] Lib. 2, Cap. 120. Insulæ Britannicæ et loca arctis subjecta, omnium minime in communem hominum notitiam pervenere.

[38] Cæs. de bel. Gal. lib. 4, sec. 20. Genus hominum — loca, portus, aditus — quæ omnia ferè Gallis erant incognita. Neque enim temerè, præter mercatores, illò adit quisquam; neque iis ipsis quidquam præter oram maritimam, atque eas regiones quæ sunt contra Galliam, notum est, &c.

foreign trade with it is given by Dionysius Periegesis, who, A. D. 3, states that the Greeks preferred the British islands to all others.[329] And Strabo, A. D. 20, is the first who speaks of the Roman intercourse with Britain.[330] Consequently Pliny errs in asserting that Britain, which, A. D. 77, when he wrote, was celebrated in the Grecian and Roman Annals, was not known to his countrymen above thirty years before.[331]

In consequence of a treaty which Augustus Cæsar had entered into with Britain, the people of this island not only sent presents to the capitol, but submitted to a toll, which was levied upon their imports from, or their exports to, Gaul. The articles received from Rome were bridles studded with ivory, gold chains, glass vessels, British amber manufactured and other trinkets. Their exports consisted of corn, cattle, gold, silver, iron, skins, slaves and war dogs.[332]

The information communicated by native writers with regard to the Irish trade is so

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[329] V. 568, Britannicas insulas cæteres totius orbis Græci prætulere.

[330] Geogr. cum notis Casau. page 305

[331] Lib. 4, Chap. 16.

[332] Strab. Geog. page 305.

scanty, that authors, zealous for the ancient ideal splendour of Ireland, have been at considerable pains in consulting foreign works upon the subject. Avienus, an author of the fourth century, is quoted as authority for a Carthaginian traffic with this isle; but admitting that, by the appellation Œsrumnides, or Œstrumnides, the British islands were meant, the quotation is too vague and ambiguous to assure us of a Carthaginian commerce with Ireland; for, exclusive of the facts that, the ancients were ignorant of navigation and that the voyage across the Irish sea was, even in the days of Solinus, Giraldus Cambrensis, Camden and Speed, considered perilous, Ireland does not contain tin, with which the Œsrumnides were by Avienus said to abound.[243] If a regular Carthaginian, Grecian or Roman trade had been conducted with Ireland in the times of Diodorus and Strabo, who were the best ancient Geographers, we would expect a more circumstantial account of this island than, it appears, their travels and inquiry enabled them to give us. On the other hand, the notice taken of this isle by Diodorus,

[243] Dicit enim has plumbi et stanni divites. Theat. Geo. vet. edente P. B. Bevero.

evinces that some trading adventurers had visited it before the Incarnation.

Tacitus is the first authentic writer, who, at the close of the first century, says the harbours of Ireland were better known through commerce than those of Britain;[324] but he also informs us that Britain before his time was not known to be an island even to the Romans; nor were the Orkneys previously discovered.[325] The Greeks having at a remote period formed a settlement in Marseilles; and the Romans having been in the time of Julius Cæsar established in Narbonne, these colonists, it is probable, were the first foreigners next to the Gauls, who traded with the south of Britain and, perhaps, with the Armorican settlers in Ireland. And these Armorican Gauls, having trafficked with the Belgæ of the south of Britain before the Christian æra, would be naturally anxious to commence a commercial intercourse with them from their new settlement in Ireland. With this view, probably, the latter constructed the Sarn Gailach or Irish Causeway

[324] Agric. S. 24. Melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti.

[325] —— S. 10. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primùm Romana classis circumvecta, insulam esse Britanniam adfirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque.

in a direction opposite to the Aisgear Riada or the Gallic road,[326] which I have already described.

Ireland having in those ancient days been embarrassed with woods without roads, bogs without hurdles, and rivers without bridges,[327] this tranverse causeway became necessary not only to convey the products of the isle from the west and other parts of Ireland to Dublin; but to facilitate the payment in kind to those Rhedones at Magh Cceitne,[328] the present barony of Cool and Tullagh. And it is not improbable that the Belgæ of the south-west of Ireland, as a commercial people, had afterward availed themselves of it to convey their articles of trade to Dublin. In conformity with this opinion the bards assert that the trade of Ireland, before the arrival of the Danes, was managed solely by them, the other tribes having disdained commerce.——'O'Halloran's Introduction,' vol. 2, p. 237.

Certain duties were paid in later ages on the first of May and November in wines and

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[326] The bards inform us that Aisgear Riada was used as a boundary in the second century between a northern and southern King of Ireland; and, according to Nennius, Sarn Gallach constituted another, A. D. 465, between two British Kings and one of Armorica.

[327] Gir. Camb. Spencer, &c. [328] Keating's History, page 181.

such daughters as were portioned at their marriage had generally no other fortune but cattle, and the Irish language has no other word to signify a woman's marriage portion but *spré* or *sbré*, which literally means *cattle*. The men of quality amongst the old Irish never required a marriage portion with their wives, but rather settled such a dowry upon them as was a sufficient maintenance for life, in case of widowhood; and this was equally the custom of the German nobles, and, particularly, of the Franks.'

GAMING.

AMONG other customs which identify a Gothic settlement in Ireland, that of gambling holds a conspicuous place, insomuch that Campion's account of that vice in Ireland, is nearly a counterpart of that which Tacitus gives us in his history of Germany.

The habit of indolence, in which they indulged during peace, produced a listlessness of inaction, which gaming seemed best adapted to relieve. Like the savage of America, who in the morning would barter

his bed without considering that it could not be spared at night, those Goths of Germany and Ireland, when engaged at their favourite game, seemed to have no thought of future wants. And as man in a state of nature is generally accustomed to liberty in excess, the transition from mild to violent passions is frequent and rapid. Hence the close accordance of Campion's description of Irish gambling with that of Tacitus; and hence the unchanged continuance of this custom in Ireland to the time of that author.

Even when sober, the Germans, according to Tacitus, game so desperately that when nothing else is left for hazard but their liberty, this is proffered as the last stake. The sense of honour is such, that the loser, although younger and stouter, voluntarily becomes a slave, and suffers himself to be bound and sold.[332]

In Ireland, even toward the conclusion of the sixteenth century, Campion informs us, that 'there is among them a brotherhood

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[332] C. C. Tac. de Germ. Sec. 24. Aleam, quod mirere, sobrii inter seria exercent, tanta lucrandi perdendive temeritate, ut quum omnia defecerint, extremo ac novissimo jactu de libertate et de corpore contendant. Victus voluntariam servitutem adit: quamvis junior, quamvis robustior, alligari se ac venire patitur: ea est in re prava pervicacia; ipsi fidem vocant.

of Carrowes—*Cearrbhach*,[333] that profess to play at cards all the yeare long, and make it their only occupation. They play away mantle and all to the bare skinne, and then trusse themselves in strawe or in leaves: they waite for passengers in the highway, invite them to a game upon the greene, and aske no more but companions to hold them sport, for in default of other stuff they pawne portions of their glibbes, the nailes of their fingers and toes, quinetiam membra virilia, which they lose or redeem at the curtesie of the winner.'[334]

FOOD.

From a want of direct testimony, the assertions of foreign authors upon this subject, are supported by analogy only. The first inhabitants of Ireland, who are noticed by writers, were British Gauls. They were so denominated by Diodorus Siculus,[335] an

[333] A gamester, spoil; from *searadh*, to destroy or spoil.

[334] History of Ireland, page 27.—In 1698 an act was passed against deceitful, disorderly and excessive gaming.

[335] Lib. 5. Ferocissimos esse *Gallorum*, qui sub septentrionibus habitant—ωστε και των Βρεττανων τους πανσκυτους τοσουτο μονον λεγειν.

author, whose assertion is deserving of serious regard, on account of his celebrity as a writer and of the age in which he wrote. These emigrated from Britain to Ireland, according to Richard and Whitaker, near three centuries anterior to the settlement of the Armorican tribes in Ireland, and near four previous to that of the Belgæ.[336]

As the arts in Britain, when Julius Cæsar visited that island, had scarcely surpassed the simple invention of savages,[337] we may infer from analogy, and history supports the inference, that in this island, which is farther distant from foreign commerce, the manners of its inhabitants must have been then more uncivilized than the British, which were ruder than the Gallic.[338] The foreign commercial visits to Ireland, which we learn from Tacitus, therefore, probably commenced, at least the greater part, after the settlement of the Armoricans and of the Belgæ in this island;[339] for the prior Gallic Britons, who

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[336] Richard, A. M. 3650. Whitaker's Manchester, v. —, page 232.

[337] Cæs. de bel. Gal. Sec. 10. — C. C. Tac. Agric. Sec. 11.

[338] Strab. Geogr. V. 1, p. 305. Ingenio Gallorum partim similes sunt, partim simpliciores et magis barbari.

[339] Diodor. Sic. lib. 5. Insulæ Britannicæ et loca arctis subjecta, omnium minime, in communem hominum notitiam pervenere.

occupied the island, were probably naked savages;[340] but the Armoricans[341] and the British Belgæ[342] on their arrival were comparatively civilized.

Tribes wholly ignorant of the sciences and the arts must be supposed to subsist partly by milk, the produce of the chase and that of the woods. Corn was scantily sown even in the twelfth century, and the island, having been almost a continued forest, was ill adapted for the support of cattle or the secretion of milk. In consequence, the sources of subsistence among the ancient Irish were defective and casual. Hence, probably, in years of famine, necessity might have given rise to reports, which inclined Diodorus[343] and Strabo to suspect that they were cannibals. The solitary instance mentioned by Dr. Keating appears to be doubtful, and the fact

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340 Diod. Strab. Mela, Eumenes, &c.

341 C. Julius Cæsar, lib. 3. sec. 8.

342 Whitaker's Manchester.

343 Diod. Sic. lib. 5. Dicunt ex iis nonnullos anthropophagos esse, sicut *Britannos* qui *Iriu* tenent.

Strab. Geogr. de Ierne, page 307. De hac nihil certi habeo quod dicam, nisi quòd incolæ ejus Britannis sunt magis agrestes, qui et humanis vescuntur cæsibus ——— quæ quidem ita referimus, ut fide dignis harum rerum testibus destituti.

stated by St. Jerome[344] in the fourth century is differently explained by a gentleman of the University of Cambridge.

Solinus calls the Irish a savage and warlike people, who, when victorious, first drink some of the blood of the slain, and then daub their faces with more of it.[345] In the sixteenth century Campion tells us, that in haste and hunger they squeeze out the blood of raw flesh,[346] and both he and Spencer assert that part of their food consisted of the blood of living beasts, which they fryed with butter and oatmeal.[347]

If history were silent, the state of Ireland in the twelfth[348] and so late as the sixteenth century, would be sufficient to evince that the Irish mode of living was scanty and

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344 B. Hieronymus 2 contra Jovinianum. Quid loquitur de cæteris nationibus, cum ipse adolescentulus in Gallia viderim Scotos (Scyttos, in altera editione) gentem Britannicam, humanis vesci carnibus, et cum per sylvas porcorum greges, et armentorum, pecudumque reperiant, pastorum nates et fæminarum papillas solere abscondere, et has solas ciborum delicias arbitrari? This passage, in descending to posterity, has been variously altered and explained. Scotos, in some editions, is changed into *Attacottos*; and pastorum nates into porcorum nates, &c.

345 J. Solin. Polyhist. chap. 23. Hibernia inhumana est, ritu incolarum aspero. — Gens inhospita et bellicosa, sanguine interemptorum hausto prius, victores vultus suos oblinunt.

346 History of Ireland, page 25.

347 Eadem. ——. View of the State of Ireland, page 29.

348 Topograp. Hiberu. passim.

wretched. The greater part of the island, even in those days, was overspread with vast forests,[349] almost destitute of hedges, roads or bridges.[350] Hence it may seem that agriculture was unknown or neglected. It was, however, partially pursued, but the whole system of this art,[351] including its products, was extremely bad. The corn, poor in quantity and quality;[352] the hay, merely the produce of mountains;[353] the grass, which grew in the shade of the dense foliage of those woods, thin, coarse and sour:[354] con-

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[349] Campion, View of the State of Ireland, page 210, and Boate's Natural History.

[350] View of the State of Ireland, p. 136, 210, 258, &c.

[351] In the eleventh year of Charles I. an act passed against ploughing by the tail and pulling the wool off living sheep instead of clipping or shearing them. In 1635, an act passed to prevent the burning of corn in the straw. Topogr. Hib. chap. 10. Agris cultis parce, consitis parcissime. Sunt enim culti quidem neglectu cultorum agri perpauci.—Vacat arvorum virtus in vita, dum et opimis agris desunt agricolæ, desuntque manus poscentibus arvis.

[352] Topog. Hib. Pascuis tamen quam frugibus, gramine quam grano, fœcundior est insula. Multam fruges in herba, plurimam in culmis, minorem in granis spem promittit. Tritici namque grana contracta sunt licet minuta, et vix vani alicujus beneficio purganda.—View of the State of Ireland, page 210. As for corne it is nothing natural, save only for barley and oates, and some places for rye.

[353] *Mòin-fhéur*, the Irish name for a meadow, literally signifies *mountain-grass*, and O'Brien adds, 'this word shows that the Irish formerly used no other hay, but what grew on coarse or boggy ground.' Dict. in voce.

[354] Such as the slender Wood Brome-grass—Bromus sylvaticus, the Purple Melic grass—Melica cœrulea, Wood Melic grass—M. uniflora, Wood cow-wheat—Melampyrum sylvaticum, Wood meadow-grass—Poa nemoralis, &c.

sequently, it was ill calculated to increase the numbers or to promote the obesity of herds and flocks.[355] The peaceful arts, such as may be expected in the infancy of society, gave place to rapine, tumult, war.[356] The feeble and relaxed code of laws encouraged no man to sow; and the few, who ventured, doubted that they should reap.

In the twelfth century we are told they lived, according to the primitive pastoral mode, in a bestial manner among beasts, despising civil wealth and agriculture.[357]

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[355] View of the State of Ireland, p. 136, 161.

[356] Keating's History of Ireland and O'Flaherty's Ogyg. passim.

[357] Topogr. Hib. cap. 10. Gens inhospita, gens ex bestiis solum & bestialiter vivens, gens à primo pastoralis vitæ vivendi modo non recedens: — gens hæc agriculturæ labores aspernans, & civiles gazas parum affectans.

The information relative to the natural history of Ireland communicated by Giral. Cambr. is in general erroneous: it was received at second or third hand, and was commonly believed in those days. Every department in natural history was ill understood in the twelfth century. The age was ignorant and credulous: wonders therefore multiplied. The frivolous vanity of some imposed upon the credulity of others. In describing the manners of the Irish, Giraldus is accused of misrepresentation and malignancy. These accusations, however, are not warranted from ancient foreign or cotemporary histories; neither can they be supported by the assertion, that his stay in Ireland was not sufficiently long to have acquired the information he has imparted to us; for the fact was otherwise. From the intercourse between Britain and Ireland in those days, his account of the manners of the people could have been easily contradicted, if unfounded; but, notwithstanding the accordance of cotemporary and more modern writers, four or five centuries

They lived, according to Spencer, 'most part of the yeare in boolies—bùailidhe, pasturing upon the mountains and waste wild places, and removing still to fresh land, as they had depastured the former.'[358] This was a Gothic custom.

Conformably with this view of facts we are told, that the common food of the lower order, about the sixteenth century and more anciently, consisted, beside the blood of living beasts, of flesh with, but generally, without bread;[359] milk, water-cress, scurvy-grass, wood-sorrel and clover.[360] A monastic

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elapsed before any writer had undertaken the task of confuting his narrative. Of what he saw, it appears, he was a faithful narrator; for, his testimony is corroborated by coetaneous writers, Gulielmus Neubrigensis, and by St. Malachie's account through St. Bernard.—This Saint, treating of the life of his friend, St. Malachias, Archbishop of Ardmagh, who died in his arms at Clairvaux, gives the following narration. 'Malachias, about his 30th year, was consecrated bishop, and settled at *Conereth*, a city so called. When he entered upon his office, the man of God found he was ordained to minister not to men but beasts. He had never met with such creatures in the grossest barbarism; never found any so depraved as to morals, so brutish as to practice, so impious as to belief, so barbarous as to laws, so stiff necked as to discipline, so debauched as to conduct; Christians in name, Heathens in practice.' Gough's Camden, page 421.

[358] View of the State of Ireland, page 82.

[359] The Welsh, too, in the twelfth century, used bread sparingly, but flesh plentifully. Cambriæ Descript.

[360] Campion, p. 25. Spencer, —. Sir J. Ware, chap. 22, sec. 2. Ad victum veterum Hibernorum quod attinet, vulgi victum quotidianum olim valde tenuem fuisse, certum est; plerúmque ex lacte, butyro et herbis

rule, said to have been made about the end of the fourth century by St. Albeus, informs us that, beside herbs and roots, which are not described, the monks were allowed honey in the comb, an inch in breadth, and from the hive, beside apples and beer; probably the curmi of the Britons. 'Cum sedent ad mensam adferantur herbæ sive radices aqua lotæ in mundis scutellis, item poma, cerevisia, & ex alveario mellis ad latitudinem pollicis, id est, aliquot favi.'[361]

Sir James Ware states, that the usual banquets consisted of roasted or boiled meat or fish, bread baked on a griddle, and fricassees. At these meals they sat, like the ancient Gauls,[362] in a circle upon grass or rush couches, surrounding a three-legged table, such as was used by the ancient Gauls; and their drink, a sort of ale called curmi, was served in cups of timber, horn or brass.[363]

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[361] Hist. Monast. page 201.

[362] Strabo, p. 299. ——Etiamnum plerique sedentes in toris cibum capiunt.

[363] Antiq. Hib. chap. 22. sec. 2.

It appears from a passage in the works of Cox and Campion, that the Scythian custom of drinking out of a human skull was practiced by some of the higher orders so late as the sixteenth century. Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earl of Kildare, in answer to a speech of Cardinal Wolsey, concluded with these remarkable words: 'I slumber in a hard cabbin, when you lie soft in a bed of downe. I drinke water out of a skull, when you drinke out of golden cuppes, &c.'

Such might have been the custom in the best of later times and among the higher order, as Sir James intimates; but this comparative skill in cookery and practice of politeness cannot be inferred from the ancient Irish history.

Every fort had in its vicinity, and generally, within the area of the outer ballium, a fire hearth called *Falachda* and *Cuci*. One in my own neighbourhood contains two oblong ones, each lined with stone uncemented, and containing charcoal. One is outside the outer ballium; the other within the bàn. 'In these they dressed their victuals, which was done by lighting a fire in the cavity, round which was a number of stakes suspending on the top the skin of a cow, or some other animal, filled with water, in which was put the flesh to be boiled, after the manner of the ancient Scots.[364] The chaldron used by the Irish bia'dhtachs, or the noble publicans, and called *Coire Feile*, was brought later into use; for, even in the time of Spencer,[365] the northern Irish seethed flesh in the hide.

[364] Gough's Camden, v. 4. p. 92.
[365] View of the State of Ireland, p. 99.

BIADHTAIGH—HOSPITALITY.

A GOTHIC custom prevailed in Ireland as in Germany:[366] it consisted in entertainments given to the people. In the latter country those banquets were expected from chieftains, and the custom was probably continued in Ireland during the primitive ages; but, in after times, the Irish toparchs having assumed a regal power, officers called *biadhtaigh*, who, according to some writers, ranked with the nobility, were appointed for the express purpose of keeping open houses. Each lord of a manor was bound to allot for this public use a certain portion of territory, in reducing which into acres and furnishing with stock, the bards allowed a free scope to their imagination. They played upon the number seven, as if it implied something mystical. Thus Grat. Lucius, c. xiv, p. 130, says, that each biadthach[367] possessed seven townlands, each of which comprised seven ploughlands, and notwithstanding this extent

[366] Tac. de German.—Sec. 4.

[367] A word variously spelled: derived from *bo*, cattle, or *biadh*, food, and *teach*, a house; metaphorically, a hospitable man.

of district, he employed for the cultivation of corn but seven ploughs annually. His herds of cattle amounted to one hundred and twenty, and each herd contained one hundred and twenty cows. His house was built in the vicinity of four roads, for the accommodation of strangers, and he was required to have every day in readiness, a cow, a hog, and a sheep. Of these houses, or baile biadhtáigh, we are informed, that two, out of four or five Munsters, as they were anciently divided, contained one thousand eight hundred: consequently, these two Munsters possessed twelve million nine hundred and sixty thousand cows, exclusive of swine and sheep; a number, compared with which, the present annual exports of the whole island, in beef and live cattle, bear a very inconsiderable proportion, notwithstanding a greatly improved system of husbandry!

Those baile biádhtaigh prevailed, as we may suppose, chiefly in the dominions of the Belgæ; the German custom of entertaining the people being found as necessary in their new settlements among hostile tribes, as it had been in Germany or Gaul. The fort of Heremon, on the borders of East

Munster, was denominated *biadh-teach*, either from the occupation of a chieftain, or from his generosity; and, as *feiaig*, a word of like import, signifies, in Welsh also, a prince, we may infer that the eulogies bestowed on the supposed Heremon by the bards, proceeded from the munificence of some chieftain of that fortress.

Independent of those public festivals, both the ancient Germans and the Irish were equally celebrated for private hospitality,[368] in which they endeavoured to imitate the liberality of their chieftains. The continuance of this practice in the south of Ireland, at least during one thousand seven hundred years, evinces the fond attachment of a people to ancient customs; and it may also be adduced as one of the many collateral proofs of a Belgic settlement having been formed in this isle. The Irish laws enjoined that no man should hastily quit his rath or fort, lest the traveller should be disappointed; a fact which evinces that baile biadhtaigh were not so numerous as they are represented to have been; for hospitality was then so

[368] The chiefs and others, having been paid in kind, must have had as many dependants upon their bounty as they had provision, which their immediate families did not want.

general, that the ordinance would otherwise seem to have been unnecessary. Even so late as the last century, an inscribed stone stood erect upon a public road, to invite the passing stranger to a gentleman's house in Kerry; and, near Kenmare, the tenantry of another were, in the present age, desired to direct the traveller to their landlord's mansion.

A new form of government produced a change in our manners and customs, and, in consequence, that generous spirit is now comparatively banished from every part of Ireland, except *Ibh Rathach*, where, with few exceptions, it resembles the description of hospitality which Tacitus has given us of the ancient Germans. S. 21, de Germ.

ARMS.

Of weapons for the destruction of game, few only had been used by the Celtic or Belgic nations;[369] but of those invented for the unnatural massacre of the human species, several were employed by them even in the early ages.

[369] Strab. Geogr. v. 1, p. 299. Habent et lignum pili formâ, quod non amento sed à manu torquetur — quo maxime utuntur ad aucupium.

The arms used by the ancient Irish were stone hatchets, swords, javelins, two sorts of darts, bows and arrows, knives, slings, stones, and their armour consisted only of large shields made of common willow, and small round ones of the hides of animals. The javelin and arrow anciently were headed and pointed with stone; but, about half a century before the birth of Christ, brass having been imported from Gaul, it was substituted in place of the former; and about that period, the broad and long Gallic sword,[370] without a point, and composed of brittle metal, came into use. Afterward the Carthaginian,[371] which was both elastic and well tempered, was procured in barter and preferred. It is not known in what age the Irish acquired a knowledge of iron, for the ancient Celtæ and Goths were ignorant of its oxide, and of the mode of fusing it; but it appears from Giraldus Cambrensis, that a hatchet of that metal, which he describes as large and well steeled, was used by them in the twelfth century. This, which Cambrensis and Hanmer

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[370] Antiq. Hib. chap. 12. Sir J. Ware says, the sword was not known to the Irish before the middle ages; but Solinus assures us that some sort of sword was used by them in his time.

[371] Mixture of Fable and Fact, page 30.

say was borrowed from the Danes, had been probably imported into this isle at an early period, for it was known at the siege of Rome to the Gauls, under the command of Brennus, and became afterward, according to Marcellinus, a common weapon in Gaul.[372] In the time of Cambrensis, an Irishman seldom appeared abroad without the *tuadh chatha*, or battle axe, which he used dexterously, and with dreadful effect.[373]

The javelin, according to this author, was not as long as that of the Welsh:[374] it probably resembled the smaller kind, which had been generally used by the Germans.[375] But, exclusive of this weapon, it is not improbable that the heavy Gallic javelin, called *gesus* by Latin writers, had in some age been known in Ireland, for it is expressed in Irish by the word *ceis*, which, with a Latin termination, is rendered into *Ceis-us* or *Geis-us*.[376] If the 'enormis hasta,' mentioned

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372 Whit. Manch. vol. 1, page 19.

373 Topogr. Hib. C. 10.

374 Cambr. Descript. C. 6.

375 Tacit. Germ. S. 6.

376 Spelmann informs us that in the age of Servius, *Gesa*, among the Gauls, signified a strong man: hence, from analogy, the application of the word to the heaviest and most powerful of their javelins. *Gas* in Irish, among other meanings, also signifies strength. — It may be inferred from this passage, Cæsar, Lib. 5, Sec. 4. 'lapides, gæsaque in vallum conjicere,' that this javeline was used, like stones, as a missile weapon. Henr. Spelm. Gloss. Gesus. Apud Gallos Servii ævo, fortem significabat. Gesa (inquit Virg.) hastatas viriles: nam viros fortes Galli *Gesos* vocant.

by Tacitus, had been a similar weapon, the Germans probably derived it from the Gauls. Brito says, it was used by the Welsh.[377]

The bow and arrow, in the opinion of Spencer, were of Gothic origin. The former he says, was about three-fourths of a yard long: the string of wreathed hemp, and slackly bent. The arrow was sharp and slender, about half an ell long; tipped with a steel head and a short beard. This, 'though shot forth weakly, entered into a man or beast most cruelly.'[378]

The sling was probably introduced by the Belgæ, and used for casting stones; which, in imitation of the Germans,[379] they threw with good aim and effect. The large willow shield was likewise of German origin,[380] and probably brought by the Belgæ to Ireland.

The ancient Irish, according to Sir J. Ware, used a helmet covered with the hide of a wild beast; but Spencer, on the contrary, asserts, that in his time they wore no armour

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[377] Pennant's Wales, vol. 2. page 245.

[378] Spencer's View of the State of Ireland, page 95.

[379] C. Julius Cæsar, lib. 1. sec. 39, & Tacit. Germ. sec. 6.

[380] Topog. Hib. c. 10.—Antiq. Hib. et l'Histoire d'Irlande.—Tacit. Germ. Ann: 2. Sec. 14. Ne scuta quidem ferro, nervove firmata, sed viminum textus, aut tenuia fucatis colore tabulas.

on their bodies or heads: 'they trusted to the thickness of their glibbs.'[381]

The two sorts of dart, which Giraldus Cambrensis says were used by the Irish in his time, are not described by him; but it is probable that one resembled the present Highland dirk: the other was longer, and similar to those which Spencer calls Gallic.[382] Giraldus informs us, that the Irish were indebted for these weapons, and for the javelin, to the Basilienses[383] or the Rauraci of Cæsar.

The British chariot, which Whitaker derives to the Britons from the Gauls, who probably received it from the Persians,[384] through the Greeks of Marseilles, served for the double purpose of a vehicle and an instrument of destruction. It was rather a novelty in Ireland, and used only by a few of the

[381] View, &c. p. 95.—Tac. Annal. lib. 2. sec. 14. Neither had the ancient Germans a breast plate or helmet: 'non loricam Germano, non galeam.'

[382] View, &c. page 103.

[383] Topogr. Hib. chap. 10. Tribus tamen utuntur armorum generibus, lanceis non longis, & jaculis binis: in quibus et Basclensium mores sint imitati. As there had been no such tribe as the Basclenses, the author probably meant the Basilienses or Rauraci, a Belgic people situated in Gaul on the west side of the Rhine, between the Helvetii on the south, and the Triboces on the north.

[384] The Travels of Cyrus.—Rollin,—Hist. ancienne—de Panthée.

kings. The wheels, according to O'Brien, were armed with hooks or scythes, as in Gaul and Britain; and the carriage was denominated *carbad searrdha*, or the sharp edged chariot. These, it is said, were so constructed as to admit of being attached or separated at will.[385]

Some suppose that a sort of knife, called *scian*, was introduced in later ages by the Danes; but if Baxter do not err, in asserting it to be the same as the Saxon short sword, called *Sachs*, and the old Roman *scena*,[386] the resemblance in sound between the Irish and Latin names denotes it to be more ancient in Ireland. The coat of mail and iron helmet, which the arts introduced into Gaul, were worn in Ireland by the higher order. The Irish, according to Solinus, bestowed great attention upon their arms; and, actuated by a passion for finery, common to most savages, decorated the handles of their swords with the teeth of marine animals.[387]

[385] O'Halloran's Introduction to the Antiquities of Ireland. p. 136.

[386] Glossar. Antiq. Brit. p. 210.

[387] Polyhist. chap. 24. Qui student cultui, dentibus marinarum belluarum insigniunt ensium capulos, candicant enim ad eburneam claritatem; nam præcipua viris gloria est in telis. Whether Solinus wrote in the first century, as some assert, or in the third, according to other biographers, he is an early evidence in favour of the opinion that the Irish had been acquainted with some sort of sword previous to the invasion of Ireland by the Danes.

We are told by Strabo, that the Gauls imported from Britain that variety of wolf-dog,[298] which Campion, speaking of Ireland, calls a greyhound, and describes as 'bigger of bone and limb than a colt.'[299] This animal was employed by the British, and not improbably by the Irish, as an auxiliary in war.[300] It may be inferred, from the appellation of *Belgic* dog, bestowed upon it by Silaus,[301] that it was imported into Ireland by the Belgæ.

The Irish armies, as in Gaul and Britain, consisted of horse and foot; and the former, like the cavalry of those countries, rode without saddles. The arms of the Irish horsemen were spears and arrows, or, according to others, javelins and hatchets; which, as some writers assert, were likewise used by the Gallic. These, we are told by Pausanias, were in the Gallic language called *tri-markision*,[302] a compound Celtic word, nearly answering to the present Irish, *tri*—three, and *marcach*—a horseman; in allusion to two attendants

[298] Strabo de Brit. p. 305. Galli cum his tum suis canibus in bello utuntur.

[299] History of Ireland, p. 13.

[300] Ossian; Crit. Dissert.

[301] 'Ut canis occultos agitat cum Belgicus apros.'

[302] *Τριμαρκισιαν.* Pausanias says the Celts called horses *marcan*.—Among the Germans, from whom this custom originated, the foot were only equal in number to the cavalry. J. Cæsar, lib. 1, sec. 39. Equitum millia erant sex: totidem numero pedites velocissimi ac fortissimi, quos ex omni copiâ, singuli singulos, suæ salutis causâ, delegerunt.

upon the horseman or knight. Pausanias continues to inform us, that if this knight should happen to have been slain, one of the two attendants was appointed to succeed him. And O'Brien affirms, that the same custom prevailed in Ireland, where the attendants were called *Giollaidhe ein eich*, and also *Dailtinigh;* and these were armed with javelins attached to thongs. The knight or master was called *ritter* or *ridder* in German; hence, the English *rider*, and the Irish imitative appellation *ridaire*, which was used to express the same office and the same rank. In later times, the denomination *cniochit*, borrowed from the German *knocht*, which originally signified a common soldier, was used synonimously with *ridaire*.[203] The foot soldier, called *Cathern*, *Cearn* or *Ceatharnach*, was armed with darts, knives, and a javelin, which the thong attached enabled him to draw back, after he discharged it.

The Belgæ, probably, introduced into Ireland that wedge-shaped or triangular order of battle, which, as Tacitus informs us, was practised by the ancient Germans.[204] In Irish it was called *Gin-ell*, a word com-

[203] O'Brien's Dict. in voce *Cniocht.* [204] Tac. Germ. sec. 6.

posed from the form *ginn* or *dinn*—a wedge, and *ell*—a battle. And, according to the original German custom,[305] it is probable that the *Giollaidhe ein eich* intermixed with the horse, and, supported by the mane, kept pace with the riders. In Britain the chariots were thus accompanied, and defended by the infantry.

In place of the drum the bag-pipe, a musical instrument used, according to A. Gellius, by the Lacedemonians, probably filled by the breath, as it is now sounded in the Highlands of Scotland, constituted their martial music. On going to battle they used certain barbarous ceremonies in expectation of a consequent victory;[306] and preparatory to the combat, they clashed their swords together, raising a general cry in ejaculation to their favourite idol,[307] or in honour of their toparch. The idol, usually implored, was *Crom*, and the motive of their invocation

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[305] C. Julius, Cæsar, de bel. Gal. sec. 39. Cum his in prœliis versabantur.—Si quò erat longius prodeundum, aut celerius recipiendum tanta erat horum exercitatione, celeritas, ut jubis equorum sublevati, cursum adæquarent.—And Tacit. de Germ. sec. 6.

[306] View of the State of Ireland, p. 95.

[307] The Scandinavians performed similar ceremonies, and on joining in battle invoked Odin.

was victory, *ad'h bu'adha*—a victorious issue.[398] Then, inciting each other to action, they uttered aloud the watch-word, *Faire O!*—*Faire O!*—be on your guard! take heed!

The Gauls, Scots, Caledonians and Welsh, not only fought naked upon many occasions, but what is still more extraordinary, they engaged enemies with arms in their hands, without any in their own. According to Livy and Polybius, the Gauls fought naked and without arms, at the battle of Cannæ. This custom of the Gauls is also spoken of by Diodorus[399] and Herodian.[400] Giraldus

[398] For this construction of Crom ad'h Bu'adha, pronounced *Crom avie boa*, I am remotely indebted to the present professor of Irish in the seminary of Maynooth. This cry, which implies a strange mixture of devotion and vengeance, is now used in the south of Ireland, with the omission of Crom, and the substitution of the mutable P for B in Bu'adh, to call labourers to meals. And the prevalence of this custom induces me to suppose that victories had been thus anciently announced from the field of battle, to the remotest district interested in the result. Cæs. de bel. Gal. lib. 7, sec. 3, informs us, that on the insurrection of the Carnutes, an account of the murder of the Roman citizens at Genabum, was conveyed, by means of out-cries repeated from place to place, to the Averni on the day it occurred, a distance of one hundred and sixty miles. Others say that this cry is not very ancient, it having originated among the inhabitants of an Irish town called *Crom*: but the town itself might have received its denomination, from the veneration of a sept for this idol, which, probably, was either Crom-cruach, or Crom-dubh. Thus, the town, called *Clogher*, is indebted for its name to another idol called Cloch-oir, literally, the stone of gold. An act was passed in 1495, to abolish the words Crom ad'h, Bu'adha and Butler ad'h Bu'adha.

[399] Page 353. [400] Lib. 3. cap. 47.

Camb. speaking of the Irish, says, ' they march naked and unarmed to battle: they esteem arms as a burden, and consider it a proof of boldness and a mark of honour to fight without them.' Præterea nudi et inermes ad bella procedunt. Habent enim arma pro onere. Inermes vero dimicare, pro audacia reputant et honore.[401] The Caledonians fought naked in the battle of Mechlin.[402] And in their shirts in that of Killicranky.[403] Girald. Camb. says of the Welsh: 'it is remarkable that they, without arms and naked, often fight the armed: the infantry are not afraid to encounter the cavalry; and in those conflicts they for the most part become victorious, on account of their agility and courage.'[404] This account of the Welsh is corroborated by Henry II. in a letter to Emanuel, emperor of Constantinople.[405] We may infer from those facts, that after the use of clothes became general among the Celtæ, they were

[401] Topogr. Hib. cap. 20.

[402] Famian. Strada de bel. Belg.

[403] Colin Dis. upon Macpherson's Ossian, page 164.

[404] Itinerar. Cambr. Descr. Cim. Cambr. cap. 2.—De his igitur hoc spectabile, quod nudi multoties cum ferro vestitis inermes cum armatis, pedites cum equitibus congredi non verentur, in quo plerumque conflictu, sola fiunt agilitate et animositate victores.

[405] Camb. Des. cap. 8.

thrown off in battle; either from the force of habit, or from an apprehension of their impeding the free use of their limbs. Their fighting without arms arose from an erroneous conception of bravery; the Celtic idea of valour consisting in a heedless prodigality of life.

Many prisoners were usually made in those hostile engagements, which, from the earliest period of history, were both frequent and numerous. And, perhaps, it may be inferred from the copiousness of the Irish language, with regard to the names expressive of a variety of slaves, that those prisoners were disposed of as such. The custom seems to have been pretty general in the early ages. Strabo informs us, that the Gauls imported slaves and dogs from Britain, 'mancipia et canes.' And Tacitus[496] tells us, that the Usippian cohort, which, A. D. 83, deserted the standard of Agricola in Caledonia, having been driven on the German coast, were arrested, sold and bought among their own countrymen; and in the line of commerce conveyed back to Britain. In the year 1085 Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and

[496] Vita Agric. Sec. 28.

Wolstan, bishop of Worcester, prevailed upon king William not to sell the prisoners he made in Ireland; but we are told their request was not readily complied with, 'in consequence of the great gain the king had by the sale of those Irishmen.'[407] And so late as the year of the Incarnation 1014, parents in England were by law allowed to sell their children.

DRESS.

From the state of nudity in which history has discovered some of the ancestors of the Irish, as well as the inhabitants themselves, in the third and fifth centuries,[408] it may be inferred, that the first settlers in Ireland were a naked people.

Of that Gothic family, whence the Belgæ of Ireland descended, we read in Tacitus' account of the Germans, that the children of the higher and lower orders were both naked, filthy, and equally ignorant: they

[407] Hanmer's Chronicle of Ireland, p. 193. [408] Eumenes & Gildas.

lived promiscuously with the cattle, upon the same floor.[409] When grown up, many of the latter appeared without clothing;[410] but some indulged in the luxury of a short mantle, composed of the hide of some animal. This they called *Sack*, a word which Varro derives from the Celtic; but it originally was either a German word or the Sclavonic *Saak*, a cloak, for the Sarmatians also wore it: the sagum, according to Strabo, was by the Celtic Gauls called *læna*.[411]

The higher order in Gaul, when of mature age, wore under the *sack*, an open jacket with sleeves:[412] this was originally formed from a hide and reached to the middle. Their breeches, sagum and jacket were either

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[409] Sec. 20.—In omni domo nudi ac sordidi, in hos artus, in hæc corpora, quæ miramur, enutrescunt. Dominant ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas. Inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo degunt; donec ætas separet ingenuos, virtus agnoscat.

[410] Seneca de ira, lib. *I*, sec. 11, et Epis. 36.

[411] This might have been made in imitation of the military Persian cassock, called *Candys*. *Leánn* or *Leine* was a coarse cassock worn outside the doublet: O'Brien's Dict. in voce. It was afterward called *Cara-calla*, a word probably signifying a short cowl or hood; *gar*—short, *calla*—a hood. According to A. Victor, M. A. Antoninus was called Cara-calla, on account of wearing at Rome this cassock, which he lengthened down to the legs.

[412] Diodorus and Strabo, p. 61,—This, as Porphyry observes of the Gothic dress, was probably 'a light jacket, which fitted close to the breast without girding.'

stained or patched with the lively colours of different furs, the idea of which might have been taken from a party-coloured woollen dress, which the Phoceans of Marseilles probably introduced from Persia[413] into Gaul. The trowsers, called by Lucan, *laxæ braccæ*, or loose breeches, and *breac*, or the speckled, by celtic nations, were shaped like those of our sailors.[414] They were worn by the Sarmatians, Persians and Medes, and were, according to that author, adopted from the Sarmatians, by those German tribes called Batavi and Vangiones, who occupied the west side of the Rhine.[415]

Though Julius Cæsar and Diodorus were cotemporary and acquainted with the dress of Gaul, they differ in their descriptions; whence I infer that the former alluded to the dress of the lower order; the latter to that of the higher. Cæsar says the only covering of the Belgic Gauls, even in the coldest parts

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[413] Ph. Cluv. Introd. Geogr. p. 337,—Persæ sumptuosi; vestes discolores—supra modum expetunt. Many of the Gallic youth were instructed by those Phoceans.

[414] Strabo, p. 67, Braccis utuntur circum extentis.

[415] M. A. Lucan was a Spaniard and nephew of Seneca. He wrote about the middle of the first century.

Et qui te laxis imitantur, Sarmata, braccis,
Vangiones Batavique truces.—*Lib. 4, l. 430.*

of that country, was the *Rheno*, or a small leathern mantle, which left the greater part of the body exposed.[416] Diodorus, on the other hand, asserts that beside a striped and chequered sagum and breeches, which they called *braca*, the Gauls wore a jacket which had various colours and looked as if sprinkled with flowers.[417] The breeches, according to Tacitus, were in Germany worn tight by the higher order.[418]

The Gauls, on account of their vicinity to the Greeks of Marseilles and the Romans of Narbonne, probably became acquainted with dress before the Germans; but the Gothic priority of claim in Ireland may be traced to some of the Celtic names of garments, which are of Gothic derivation. The Irish *faith* apparel is the same as the Gothic *fat*, raiment; and *faillin*, the Irish cloak or mantle,

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[416] Lib. 4, Sec. 2,—Atque in eam se consuetudinem adduxerunt, ut locis frigidissimis neque vestitus, præter pelles, habeant quidquam; quarum propter exiguitatem, magna est corporis pars aperta.—And Tacit. de Germ. S. 17.—The Rheno, or skin mantle, was probably the Irish *ruine* or *roine*, which signifies the hair of a horse, cow, or other beast.

[417] Vestitus illis mirificus. Tunicas enim variis coloribus imbutas, ac ceu floribus conspersas, caligasque, *bracas* illis nominatas, gestant. Saga etiam virgata, per hyemem densa, par æstatem tenuiora, crebrisque tesselis florum instar distincta, fibulis subnectunt.

[418] Sec. 17. Locupletissimi veste distinguuntur,—— strictâ & singulos artus exprimente.

a later name which it acquired in Ireland, in place of the original saak or leine, might have been derived from the Gothic *fald* or *falda*, a folding vestment.[412]

Asia being considered the mother of the arts and sciences, it may be fairly presumed that, though several centuries elapsed before they were introduced into the savage parts of Europe, we are remotely indebted to that quarter of the world for the source whence they at length proceeded. And as the Gauls before the time of Julius Cæsar were in the habit of forming settlements in Germany, and the Germans in Gaul, this novel dress must have attracted the notice of German vanity or necessity. The British straits transferred it, perhaps in barter, to Britain; the North and St. George's channels to Erin.

Though the Gallic dress was probably not long introduced into Gaul before the time of Diodorus, it must have been known to the Belgæ of Britain before their emigration to Erin. And, according to inferences from our bardic accounts, it appears to have been first worn by our Belgic chieftains; and hence probably the fictitious poetic name *Simeon* is applied to the Belgæ, and the epithet

[412] Olaus Varelius in vocibus.

breac, or party-coloured, to their dress. The manufacture however was probably still unknown in Ireland.[420] Hence the almost total state of nakedness with which the Irish are reproached by early writers;[421] and hence the use of skins for bed cloathes, and probably for raiment in the supposed time of St. Patrick.[422] The Gallic dress must therefore have been confined to the chieftains, for Gildas, speaking of the third devastation in Britain, which occurred about the year 426 or 461, says, 'the Scots bestowed more attention to the covering of their thievish countenance with glibs than even of the most indecorous parts of their persons with raiment.[423] Herodian confirms the account of

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[420] The hides of animals being better conductors of heat than blankets, the former would not be substituted for woollen bed clothes, if the art of weaving wool were known in Ireland in the sixth, or, perhaps, a later century. See Joceline's Life of St. Patrick, page 145.

[421] Eumenius & Gildas.

[422] Joceline's Life of St. Patrick, page 145.

[423] The following passage from Gildas is usually omitted by those who endeavour, at the expense of truth, to exalt the character and genius of the ancient inhabitants of Ireland: 'Itaque illis ad sua revertentibus, emergunt certatim de *suricis*, quibus sunt trans Tithicam (Scythicam, Styticam) vallem veti, quasi in alto Titane, incalescentesque æstuate, de aretissimis foraminum cavernulis, *fusci vermiculorum cœni*, tetri Scotorum Pictorumque greges, moribus ex parte dissidentes, & una eademque sanguinis fundendi aviditate concordes, *furciferæque* magis *nullus pilis*, quam corporum *pudenda*, *pudendaque proxima*, *vestibus tegentes*,' &c. Ex hist. Gild.

this faithful writer with regard to the Picts,[424] and Eumenius that of the Picts and Scots.[425]

Historians differ so widely in their description of the ancient Irish dress that, the only mode by which their inconsistent accounts can be reconciled, is to consider them as applicable to different ages. Thus, the party-coloured vestments of the Goths and Celts, which the Irish Scots continued to wear in Caledonia, was in Ireland changed in the twelfth century into black, in consequence of that colour having been the predominant one of Irish wool.[426] The primitive *Saak*, formed from the hide of some animal, was in the time of Strabo and probably of Diodorus, composed of coarse woollen cloth in Gaul.[427] In twelve centuries after, the Irish wore over this a hood of different colours and formed

[424] Lib. 3.

[425] 'Adhoc natio (Britannica) etiam tunc rudis, & soli Britanni Pictis modo & Hibernis adsueti hostibus, adhuc seminudis, facile Romanis armis signisque cesserunt.' Eumenius read his panegyric before Constantius, A. D. 296.

[426] Topograp. Hib. cap. 10. Laneis enim tenuiter utuntur, & his omnibus ferme nigris, (quia terræ istius oves nigræ sunt) & barbaro ritu compositis.

[427] Diodorus says, the Gallic sagum was worn thick in winter and thin in summer; from which account we may infer that woollen cloth was known in Gaul before he finished his work, which occurred in the hundred and eightieth Olympiad, or, as the year is omitted, in some intermediate one between fifty-six and sixty-one before the Incarnation.

of various remnants of stuff stitched together. It covered the head and shoulders and extended to the elbow.[428] Near the close of the sixteenth century, Spencer describes it as attached to the mantle, which was then considerably enlarged in breadth and length.[429] In the seventeenth century we are informed by Archdeacon Lynch, who wrote under the feigned name of Gratianus Lucius, that the ancient Irish dress, which consisted of a jacket, drawers, under-stockings and buskins, was one entire garment, in which the shape of the body was distinctly visible; and that the Fallin was wholly purple.[430] Sir J. Ware in the same century says the Fallin was composed of wool or of a kind of shag-rug bordered with fur, and reached to the heels.[431]

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[428] Topogr. Hib. cap. 10. Caputiis namque modicis assueti sunt & arctis trans humeros deorsum, cubito tenus protensis: variisque colorum generibus pannicùlorumque plerumque consutis.

[429] View of the State of Ireland, page 87. The mantle protects the naked rebells, whilst they keep the woods, from gnats: — and wrapped about the left arm, serves them instead of a target. — And those rebells being, as they commonly are, naked, it is to them all in all. — Is also close hooded over his head.

[430] Camb. eversus, cap. 13, page 122, &c. It hence probably acquired the Latin name *Cocula*. The woman also wore a sort of rug gown called *cliobh-gunna*, a Celtic Gothic word abbreviated from *cliobach*, shaggy, hairy.

[431] Antiq. Hib. cap. 11, pag 60. Sagum villosum cum limbo jubato — ad talos usque ferme demissa (vestis): —— quoddam genus indumenti quo Hibernienses utuntur, deforis plenum prominentibus jubis, seu villis, in modum crinium contextis.

Spelmann adds that, the lower margin was plain, the upper bowed and the entire made without a seam.[432] Ware says the trowsers were the same as those of the Gauls, which were made of a coarse but thin party-coloured cloth;[433] probably of the same kind as the present Highland plaid.

From the silence of our early historians, respecting works of art, and the non-existence of coin or medals prior to the Danish invasion, the Irish historian has no guide to follow in describing the primitive dress of the head, legs and feet, if those parts of the body had any covering.[434] Such articles have names in the Irish language, but the age, in which they were introduced, had probably not long preceded the eleventh century. It is however

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[432] Henr. Spelmanni Glos. Cocculi: Sagum Hibernicum, villosum, absque sutura, & quod marginem inferiorem planum exhibet, superiorem arcuatum, circaque sive jubis janeis fimbriatam. Mantellum.

[433] Antiq. Hib. cap. 11.

[434] It may be inferred from one of Fingal's regulations respecting the ability of his soldiers to extract thorns from their feet, without slackening their speed, that the Irish wore no covering for the legs or feet. The Welsh, in the time of Gir. Camb. wore a sort of buskins made of raw hides. Des. Cambr. c. 8.—In the reign of Queen Elizabeth Camden says that, 'A.D. 1562, 'O'Neil, prince of Ulster, appeared at court with his guards of Gallowglidis, bare headed, armed with hatchets, their hair flowing in locks on their shoulders, on which were yellow surplices dyed with saffron, with long sleeves, short coats and linen jackets, at which strange sight, the Londoners marvelled much.'

certain, that in the seventeenth, the Irish, beside the hood, wore a conical cap or bonnet of the same stuff as that of their raiment: this resembled the present foraging cap of the military, and was probably first worn in Ireland by the Belgæ. It was called in Irish bairéad or biréad, a word derived from the German *baret*, or from the Sclavonic *baretta*.

Beside the hood and cap, the hair of the Irish also formed a considerable covering for the head. Like that of the Germans, Scandinavians and the Belgic Britons, it was generally of a yellow colour, and allowed to grow over the shoulders in flowing ringlets. That which covered the forehead was matted and denominated glib, which is thus described by Spencer: 'in Terconnell (Donegal) the haire of their head growes so long and curled, that they goe bareheaded, and are called *glibbs*, the women *glibbins*.'[435] This was probably a Scythian custom whose origin may be traced to the vows of some German tribes, to suffer the hair and beard to grow until they succeeded in slaying an enemy.[436] The

[435] View of the State of Ireland.

[436] Tacit. de Germ. sec. 31. Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum rarâ et privatâ cujusque audentiâ, apud Cattos in consensum vertit, ut primùm adoleverint, crinem barbamque summittere, nec, nisi hoste cæso, exsuere votivum obligatum qui virtuti oris habitum. The Gothic custom of wearing

Cauci, according to Lucan, wore much hair,[437] and the Suevi, according to Tacitus,[438] In warding off a smart stroke, this glibb, Spencer informs us, proved to be a good substitute for the helmet, which, whether made of steel or leather, was seldom worn among Gothic tribes.[439]

The bards inform us, that the dress of those Irish members, whose rank or learning entitled them to honourable notice, was, according to their rank, distinguished by a certain number of colours. If this custom existed in Ireland, it was probably introduced from Gaul, when, in the time of Strabo, honorary distinction was marked by dyed cloth embroidered with gold.[440] The folly,

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the beard upon the upper lip, in Britain, in the time of Julius Cæsar, and not disused in the twelfth century in Wales, was continued in Ireland so late as the fifteenth, when, A. D. 1447, a statute was enacted to oblige the English settlers to shave the upper lip at least once in the fortnight; and in 1465, another enjoined the Irish of the counties of Dublin, Meath, Uriel and Kildare, to wear their beards after the English manner.

437. Et vos, *crinigeros* bellis agnoscite, *Cauci*,
Oppositi, Lib. 1. ver. 463.

438 —— Sec. 38. — Apud Sueves, usque ad canitiem, horrentem capillum retro sequuntur, ac sæpe in ipso solo vertice religant.

439 Tac. de Germ. Sec. 6. Vix uni alterive cassis aut galea.

440 Geograp. vol. I. page 302. Simplicitati eorum & ferociæ multum adest stolidiatis ac arrogantiæ, et ornatus studii: gestant enim aureos circum colla torques & cimas brachia, ac manus cum brachio commissuras, brachialia.

pride, and love of ornament, which Strabo attaches to the simple and ferocious character of the Gauls, were probably imported to this island with the Gallic dress and gold ornaments.[441] These, according to the concurrent testimony of Diodorus and Strabo, were chains worn round the neck, bracelets for the arms and wrists, rings and breast-plates, all of pure gold.[442] In addition to these ornaments, which, with the exception of a few, were, according to Sir J. Ware and other authors, worn by the Irish nobility; some of our ancient kings also wore gold crowns and pearls in their ears.

HOUSES.

FOREIGNERS, relying upon bardic accounts, would naturally expect to meet in Ireland with ruins similar in magnificence to those of Palmyra; but Mr. Grose could not discover any: nor could other antiquaries perceive

441 Geograp. vol. ii. p. 302. Et qui honores gerunt, ii vestes tinctas atque auro variegatas usurpant.

442 Diodor. —— Armillas circa manuum junctiuras & brachia gestant, et crassos, ex puro putoque auro torques circa collum, annulosque insignes, et aureos insuper thoraces, &c.

any vestige even of Nagnata, the city termed illustrious by Ptolemy; neither of Themor, Tarah, Teamhair, or Teagh mor an Righ, (literally, the large house of the king), the metropolis, nor of Tailtean. Mr. Grose seemed persuaded, that the account of our celebrated Irish palaces and other splendid ancient buildings, had no other foundation than the imagination of bards and the credulity of those hearers on whom they imposed their fictions. Such accounts are necessarily connected with that species of vanity, which induced early writers to claim illustrious origins for their respective countrymen, and which prevailed over truth and reason, during the dark ages of Gaul, Britain and the present Scotland. These ideal origins are now consigned to fable; and where they are still believed, it may be suspected, that the gloom of prejudice is still impervious to the light of reason.

To acquire an accurate idea of the ancient Irish houses, it becomes necessary to study the form and structure of those erected by the tribes, from whom the inhabitants of this isle were descended. The model of the Celtic or Belgic edifices of Gaul was continued by the offspring of these tribes, who emigrated

and settled in Britain.[443] Those, according to Strabo, were of a round shape, formed of boards and wattles, and the summit of the cone was crowned with a large peak.—These were probably covered with straw or reed, like the British houses, which Diodorus Siculus says, were constructed with timber, and thus protected from the weather. Mr. Whitaker informs us that two of those ancient dwellings were preserved in the shire of Ross, and his author affirms, they were round and bell-shaped. And even now, this conic figure it is said, frequently meets the eye of the traveller, in Caithness and the Hebrides. Those timber houses, notwithstanding the superior advantage of stone, which the great Ælfred introduced to the notice of the Britons, continued in fashion some ages after his time: even in that of Gir. Cambrensis, the Welsh houses were wholly constructed with wattles, and designed for the duration of one year only.

The rotund form of the British houses was probably adopted in Ireland; for, if Diodorus Siculus meaned both islands under

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[443] Cæsar, lib. 5, sec. 10. Creberrimaque ædificia ferè Gallicis consimilia.

the head of British ones, his observations, respecting the British structure, are equally applicable to the Irish. It may be also inferred from analogy that, the posterity of the British Celtic and Belgic inhabitants, who adopted the rotund form in their fortifications in Ireland, had imitated the example of their forefathers in giving their houses a similar shape.[444] Our ancient houses, churches and abbeys, were usually made of timber; some, as Sir J. Ware observes, of wattles as in Wales, and covered with straw or reed. Others, denominated *Peillic*, were built with the branches of trees and covered, as the name imports, with hides.

The names of those houses or huts are various: they are partly Belgic and partly Celtic: those of superior or later buildings, and of apartments now common, which they learned from the English, are principally derived from this language and partly from

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444 Anthol. Hib. vol. 2, page 3. Thoughts on the Rise and Progress of Architecture in Ireland, &c.

'The hut denominated by the natives *both* and *cabán* was the summer habitation of the lower orders whilst they tended their herds and flocks.—They consisted of the branches of trees fixed in the ground in a circular or oblong form, tied at the top with withes and covered with leaves and grass.'

the Roman, as *dom*, domus, a house; *tur*, turris, a turret; *cubhacail*, cubiculum, a chamber; *seamra*, a chamber; *palús*, a palace; *caislean*, a castle; *parralus*, a parlour; *sailear*, a cellar, &c.

The mode of erecting houses with stone and the use of lime cement, were first introduced into Ireland by the Danes: the Gothic pointed and the round Roman arch were formed by English architects. The other orders of architecture were foreign to this island, and are either wholly unknown or novelties to its language. Even the castles raised by the English settlers, or by the Irish in imitation, have no names in the Irish language, except those imitative of English ones, distinct from the usual denominations of their primitive forts. Hence it may be fairly inferred that, edifices of cemented stone were unknown to the ancient settlers here; and facts evince it. St. Bernard, in his life of archbishop Malachie, informs us that, when the latter had begun to lay the foundation of the oratory of stone, which was built A. D. 1140, at Bangor—Ban choir, the incipient building excited the surprise of

some natives, because stone edifices were unknown in Ireland: one exclaimed, 'O good man, what levity could induce you to erect such a novelty in our country! a building so superb, so costly and so superfluous!'[445] And though, it is said, a castle was erected A. D. 1104, by Cuillenane at Castle-Lyons, that built of stone by Roderic O'Connor fifty-seven years after, was considered a novel and extraordinary edifice, and was consequently denominated '*the wonderful castle.*' Notwithstanding the towns erected by the Danes and the stone buildings of the English, later ages added nothing to the beauty, commodiousness, or comfort of the Irish dwellings. Spencer describes them as 'rather swyne-styes then houses,' and says the inmates lyè and live together with the beasts, 'in one house, in one roome, in one bed, i. e. cleane strawe, or rather a foul dunghill!' And Barclay, a later writer, says, 'the cabbins are slight, about the height of a man, and are in common for themselves and their cattle.'

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[445] Histoire Monastique d'Irlande, page 91.

CITIES.

Of ten cities, which Ptolemy has delineated on his map in the second, or of eleven which Marcianus Heracleotes describes in the third century, in Ireland, Ware's edition assigns but two, that of Mercator three, and that of Ortelius four, to the Belgæ. But those editors, seemingly ignorant of Gothic customs, or of those tribes having been Belgic, have probably erred, as well as their author, in assigning them any. Ptolemy has delineated nineteen cities in Germany; but Ammianus Marcellinus, a learned traveller of the fourth century, who was well acquainted with that country and with Gaul, in place of giving the Germans any, says, they regarded the Roman cities in no better light than tombs surrounded with nets.[446]

We learn from Cæsar, (lib. vi. sec. 28) that the houses of the Germans were, like those of the Gauls, situate in woods and in the vicinity of rivers.[447] He also informs

[446] Lib. 16, cap. 2. Oppida, ut circumdata retiis busta, declinant.

[447] Ædificio circumdato sylvâ, ut sunt ferè domicilia Gallorum, qui vitandi æstus causâ, plerumque sylvarum ac fluminum petunt propinquitates.

us, that a certain portion of land was assigned to German tribes and families, for a year only;[448] and two of the causes assigned were to guard against their building even comfortable houses, and to prevent inequality in point of wealth.[449] Tacitus coincides with Cæsar, but gives a more circumstantial account. He says, they have no towns nor connected buildings. They have villages, but the houses are not continued; and the materials of every edifice are rude and inelegant. They neither know the use of mortar nor of tiles.[450]

Beside those incommodious huts, constituting villages, which by Ptolemy are dignified

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[448] This custom, according to Spencer, prevailed in Ireland so late as the sixteenth century, when 'land is not let in farm, or for tearme of yeares to tenants, but only from yeare to yeare, and some during pleasure, neither indeed will the Irish tenant otherwise take his land than so long as he list himself, owing to the landlord laying upon them coigny and livery at pleasure, and exacting of them (besides his covenants) what he pleaseth.'

[449] Lib. 6, Sec. 20. Magistratus ac principes—gentibus cognationibusque hominum, qui unà coierunt, quantum & quo loco visum est, agri attribuunt; atque anno post anno transire cogunt. Ejus rei multas afferunt causas:—ne accuratiùs, ad frigora atque æstus vitandos, ædificent:—ut animi æquitate plebem contineant, quum suas quisque opes æquari cum potentissimis videat.

[450] De Germ. Sec. 16. Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari, satis notum est; ne pati quidem inter se junctas sedes.—Vicos locant, non—connexis & cohærentibus ædificiis.—Materiâ ad omnia utuntur informi & citra speciem aut delectationem. Ne cæmentorum, quidem apud illos, aut tegularum usus.

with the name of cities, Tacitus adds, that in some colder parts of Germany, they opened chambers in the ground, which they covered with large quantities of dung. In these they sheltered themselves in winter, and deposited their corn.[451] Kircher, in late times, calls those caverns 'the subterranean world,' and Pomponius Mela says, that the Scythians in general dwelled during the rigour of winter in such abodes, whether formed by the hand of man or by that of nature.

According to Cæsar, the city of Cassivellanus, the British commander-in-chief and governor of state, was fortified by morasses and woods, beset with thickets or plashed, and consisted of a ditch and ballium or rampart, fortified with interlaced stakes.[452] Such, he says, were the fortifications which the Britons called cities; and to these they were accustomed to retire from the incursion of enemies. What

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[451] Sec. 16. Solent & subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemi & receptaculum frugibus: quia rigorem frigorum ejusmodi locis molliunt.

[452] Lib. 5. Sect. 17. Oppidum Cassivellani sylvis paludibusque munitum.—Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum sylvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ munierunt, quò, incursionis hostium vitandæ causâ, convenire consueverunt.

Cæsar has omitted in his description, is supplied by Diodorus Siculus and Strabo. The former says, that beside those houses, which are constructed with timber and covered with reed, they had subterranean reservoirs called *tigguo cobauc* by Ioh. Asserus de Ælfr. reb. gestis, p. 2, for the panicles of corn, which they daily drew out for use. Strabo states, that the British towns were merely temporary forts, situated in woods. A space being chosen for the purpose, they commenced their operations by felling the trees. They then raised circular ramparts, and within the enclosure they erected huts for themselves and hovels for their cattle.

Such exactly were the habitations of the Celtic and Belgic inhabitants of Ireland. Such were our boasted palaces, our towns and cities. Hence the names of palaces, dún-lios, primh-lios, the prain or priv-lys of the Welsh, riogh-rath, briùghean or Brug; and these were usually called after the proprietors, as rath chealtair mhic Duach, the fortification of Keltair the son of Duach, Dun Sobairce, &c. &c. Hence, the ancient names of the towns, Dun Dubhline, Dundaleath-ghlas, Dun-na-ngall, &c.

The habitations of the Irish, though designated by various denominations, were the same as those of the British, or nearly similar. Inhabited by families of different nations they received different appellations. These were

RATH, BRUIGHEAN, CATHAIR, BAILE, DUN, DAINGEAN, LIOS.

Those circular enclosures called rath, dun, daingean, lios, whether with or without the uaigh or uamh talmhan, the subterranean chambers or souterrains, are generally ascribed to the Danes; those buildings called brug or bruighean, and those constituting towns called cathair and baile, were supposed to be the residence of Celtic families. On the other hand it is manifest from what I have stated relative to the Gothic buildings and from the rotund form of fortifications, which are yet preserved among their decendants in Iceland, Denmark and in the ancient Scandinavia, that their relatives, the Belgæ of Ireland, had similar places of abode. And it appears from their form in Britain and in

those parts of Ireland, which were inhabited by Celtic families before the Incarnation, that those of the Celtæ of Ireland differed in name only.

As we had no continued buildings in Ireland, which merited the name of town, previous to the dominion of the Ostmen in Ireland, it is highly probable that, the Danes and Norwegians not only seized upon our strong holds, but constructed others. And these are in general distinguished from the simple fortresses of the Belgæ in the south of Ireland, by their greater size, strength and elegance. In their commercial and piratical excursions they learned to improve from other nations, and during a period of eight hundred years it is presumable, they made some improvement themselves. They learned the use of stone and lime mortar, with which they lined their souterrains and cemented their rath, dun or keep, their piola'id or riogh-lann, which was the habitation of the chief, and situated within the area of the beallagh.

In general, their rath or piola'id was immediately encompassed with the ban, which was at top fenced with paling plashed with branches of trees, and this ban was surrounded

by an entrenchment called mota or mothar, which was also sometimes paled. Under the rath and sometimes in a subterranean spot between it and the beallagh, the uaigh or uamh talmhan, the cellar or souterrain was situated, and this was intended both for provision and as a retreat for the women and children in times of danger. A few had the amharc or radharc, a watch-tower, rising above the ban. Some also contained sally-ports, which were long, narrow out-lets raised a few feet above the extremity of the souterrains and intended as apertures occasionally for smoke and also for the escape of the besieged. Those constituted the component parts of those fortresses, which were occupied by Celtic and Danish chieftains, and most of them in after ages were indiscriminately used to signify a fortress in general. The word *rath* is now exclusively applied to denote a Danish fortification, as lios, dun, daingean are to distinguish those occupied by the Irish. But, as the form of each was alike, perhaps the only certain criterion by which the one can be distinguished from the other is by the use of lime mortar within the souterrains, a cement unknown to the

ancient Celtæ and Belgæ of Ireland; to which mark of discrimination some add a west entrance; that of the Celtæ having faced the east.

The dun, rath, mota, ban, brug and bruigean, baile, cathair, are Gothic words, or derivatives from that language. The appellation dun, the *tin*, *din*, and *dinas* of the Welsh, is strangely supposed by the Irish to be used substantively, from the verb *duinim*—to shut, when applied to a fortress; though it is acknowledged to be no substantive in any other sense. Dun, in Gothic, means a *hill*; and fortresses having been usually constructed upon eminences, the name of the situation was figuratively transferred to that of the fortress. This appellation was probably borrowed by the Celtæ from the Belgæ of Gaul. Rath is judiciously supposed by Mr. Ledwich to be Teutonic, because the words junker-raht, immer-raht, raht-vorwald, &c. are applied to artificial mounts and places of defence.—Mota, he says, is the Icelandic *mot*—a place of meeting, which was not always protected by a vallum. Ban he derives from *bawen*—to construct and secure with branches of trees;

but, according to Spelmann, it originally signified a plain, a territory, a camp and town. Brug and bruigean are derived by Mr. Ledwich from the Teutonic borg and borghen —a fortified eminence. Baile from *balie*— an enclosure, ballium, or fence; but this word, in the primitive Gothic of Olaus Varelius, is *byle*, and signified, as it now does, in Irish, a village, a town.[453] Cathair, in Welsh caer, in Armoric ker, is probably derived from the Gothic *car*—a fortification. And though it is now exclusively applied to a city, it originally meant, in Ireland and Wales,[454] a round fortress. The village called Cathair, in Ibhrathach, was, I believe, originally but a circular fortress; and that near Macromp, called Cathair ce rin, resembled one of our common circular pounds. That denominated Cathair Conradh, on the summit of Sliebh Mis, I have already described.

The only denominations, purely Celtic, are carraig, daingean and lios. Carraig—a rock, is used to express several of our ancient

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[453] Olai Vereli index linguæ veteris Scytho-Scandicæ sive Gothicæ, in voce *Fiol-byli*, many villages.

[454] Ledwich's Antiq. page 190.

English castles. Daingean, derived from the verb *daingnighim*—to fasten, signifies a fortification strongly impaled. Lios, according to Cluverius, is a Celtic word which originally denoted a whirlpool; and from the rotundity of the eddy, was figuratively applied, to express the round form of the ancient Gallic, British and Irish houses,[455] inhabited probably by the chiefs; and also the Celtic fort.

The Belgic forts in the south of Ireland, all of which are falsely ascribed to the Danes, are comparatively simple in structure. The raths, which I suppose to have been inhabited by the chieftains, in general consist of one, seldom of two ramparts and two fosses. I have not met with any vestige of a dun or citadel in the centre, nor of a watch-tower; and many contain no souterrains. Those, which do, enclose from two to three chambers, each resembling a baker's oven. The apertures leading into the outward and inner apartments are so low that they cannot be entered without creeping. Other souterrains

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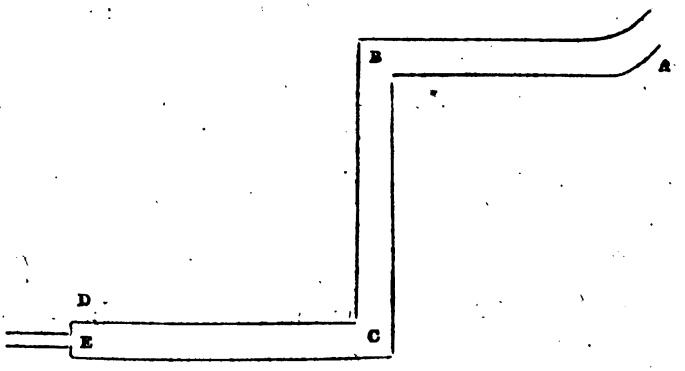
[455] Hence, a house surrounded with a water ditch was called *Dom-lios*: hence, perhaps, the old Irish name of a church *raigh-lios*, a circular enclosure upon a plain.

are continued zigzag galleries, lined with dry upright stones, and covered over head with large flags laid horizontally. The annexed drawing may give an idea of the internal form of the gallery.



A.—The entrance.

B and C.—Right angles, at which large flag stones are placed; apparently with the design of blocking up those passages in case of invasion.

D.—The termination of the gallery.

E.—A sally-port, vent-hole, and place of egress for smoke; it is narrow, and raised about two feet above the floor.

Those souterrains are very incommodious.[456] They are in general too low to stand erect in, and too narrow for two persons to move in abreast: consequently, they could not have been designed for habitation. They must have been intended, as those of the British

[456] These fortresses are usually situated upon eminences in the vicinity of rivers or springs; and the lofty sites were probably chosen partly for view, and partly for the advantage of dry situations for subterranean cells.

were, for granaries; and accordingly Gir. Cambr. says, they were applied to this use.[457]

In place of the usual earthen mound or rampart, which encircles the rath, stone is substituted in some, as on the summit of Sliebh Mis, near Tralee, and in parts of Ibhrathach; situations which afforded neither mould nor clay.

Within those forts appropriated to the chieftains, who occupied the dun or centre, huts were erected for their attendants. But each of the small ones, which in the south of Ireland is generally called lios or lios-in, contained but one or two dwellings, and these resembling the form of the fort, were, as in Gaul and Britain, of a round shape.[458] The circular basis of one is still preserved in a small fort called *Lios-in Riagh*, which is but twenty-four feet in length, and as many in breadth. It is situated on high ground at Cnoc-rathach, within six miles of Cork. The basis is formed of stones laid inclined, without cement, and the building must, consequently, have been constructed with timber.

This island was in those days covered with

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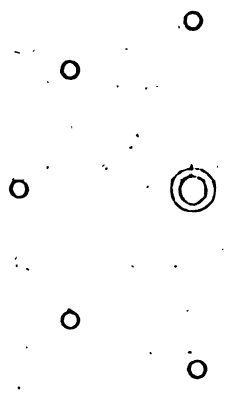
[457] Topogr. Hib. lib. 2, cap. 21.

[458] See Strabo, p. 299, for Gaul; and Whitaker's Manchester, vol. I. p. 275, for Britain.

woods, and beset with morasses: it was also unenclosed. In consequence, some of those tribes had probably, as in Britain, their Cangi, or shepherds, to prevent the cattle from straying, or from being stolen. And these, it is likely, raised temporary forts for summer, and some for winter residence.

In some parts of the south of Ireland, the rath or principal fort is placed in the centre of subordinate ones, each of which is called *lios*, as in the following sketch:



In the neighbourhood of my residence, a fort called *rath Piola'id*, which means the chieftain's or prince's fortification, was thus encompassed: each of the small ones is

situate within a quarter of a mile of the rath. The central position of the rath rendered it secure, while its situation on a commanding height enabled the chieftain, not only to see the point of attack, (which it was customary to notify by ignited straw or other inflammable matter) but to muster his forces speedily; while, on the other hand, every surrounding fort in danger, being equidistant from the rath, possessed every advantage from situation which could be expected from the vicinity, skill, and orders of the chieftain. This plan of fortification could not have been general in Ireland, if Spencer be correct in stating that those at the greatest distance were in the habit of marching from one lighted fort to another, until they met with the one attacked.

I remarked a few small forts extending from the neighbourhood of the Giant's causeway, along the north coast, in the direction of Larne. From the bleak situation of some it may be inferred that, these were constructed in days of naval ignorance, as beacons to point out the island and to facilitate the landing of settlers or marauders upon this bold coast. And it is probable they belonged

to the Danes or Ostmen, because copper money, charcoal and pieces of decayed human bones were found enclosed within urns,[459] near the Giant's causeway, in oblong cemeteries.

So late as the time of Spencer, the custom was not disused[460] of meeting armed at raths, 'there to parlie about matters and wrongs between township and township, or one private person and another.' And even at this day in the Isle of Man, laws and ordinances are promulgated in Manks and English, from a tumulus or round artificial mount, between Pill and Ramsay, to the Hibernian and Icelandic wild offspring of that island.

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[459] Some of these were plain; others ornamented with spiral lines. The floor of the graves was paved, the tops covered, and the sides lined with large flag stones. The money resembled halfpence in size, but were so oxidated as to be pulverizable by the touch. The description of those graves, which I saw about seven years since, soon after they were discovered in a miller's garden, agrees with the accounts of different writers, who speak of German customs.—Tacit. de morib. Germ.—'id solum observari, ut funera clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur.' And Christ. Cluicius, speaking of the Danes, says, nonnulli quoque sed pauci extructis rogis, more Romanorum, cremari cineresque collectos in urnâ custodiri volebant. Also, C. C. belli Dithmarcici, lib. 1. And Ol. Worm. lib. 1, cap. 7.

[460] About the end of the sixteenth century.

CHARACTER OF THE ANCIENT IRISH, AND ITS CAUSES.

THE character of the Irish given by William of Malmsbury, a British author of the twelfth century, agrees so exactly with the account of the venerable Bede that, it is very probable he derived his information solely from this author. For the weight of evidence, in other centuries, against his representation of their manners, proves that, the change wrought in the eighth, by the pious example of, and the pure Christianity inculcated by, the clergy of that time, could have no reference to the Pagan times, nor to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when a licentiousness of conduct was tolerated by the government, and encouraged in several parts of Ireland by clerical indolence and sensuality.[401]

[401] Topogr. Hib. cap. 28. Sunt enim pastores, qui non pascere quærunt, sed pasci. Sunt prælati, qui non prodesse cupiunt, sed præesse. Sunt episcopi, qui non omen, sed nomen: non onus, sed honorem amplectuntur. — Ubi & Rachelis pulchritudine sic delectantur: ut Liæ lippitudinem fastidio ducant. Unde accidit, ut nec verbum domini populo prædicent: nec scelera eorum eis annuntient, nec in grege sibi commisso vel extirpent vitia, vel inserant virtutes.

It is probable that during the eighth century, the calm of peace prevailed over the storm of war, and produced not only repose to the people, but a state of tranquillity to the clergy, which enabled them to prosecute their devout labours with assiduity and success. We may therefore reasonably infer that, in the seventh century, the Irish deserved the religious character which St. Jonas gave them, and that the eighth was distinguished by their peaceable demeanour; but, the 'innocent, simple and harmless disposition,' which William, in the twelfth, had endowed them with, is not warranted from the description of the Irish by Diodorus, written upwards of half a century before the Incarnation,[462] nor from that of Strabo,[463] Pomponius Mela[464] and Solinus,[465] in the first century;

[462] L. 5. Ferocissimos esse Gallorum, qui sub septentrionibus habitant, &c.

[463] Geog. de Ierne, p. 307. De hac nihil certi habeo quod dicam, *nisi quod* incolæ ejus Britanniæ sunt magis agrestes, qui & humanis vescuntur carnibus, et plurimum cibi vorant, & pro honesto ducunt parentum mortuorum corpora comedere, ac palam concumbere non cum aliis modò mulieribus, sed etiam cum matribus ac sororibus, καὶ μητράσι καὶ ἀδελφαῖς. — De Britannis idem scriptum est apud Cæsar. de Bel. Gal. lib. 5, cap. 14.

[464] Llb. 3, cap. 6. Cultores ejus inconditi sunt, & omnium virtutum ignari, pietatis admodum expertes.

[465] Polyhis. — Hibernia inhumana est, ritu incolarum aspero. — Gens inhospita & bellicosa, sanguine interemptorum hausto prius, victores vultus suos obliniunt. Fas atque nefas eodem animo ducunt.

neither from that of Saint Jerome[467] and Ammianus Marcellinus,[467] in the fourth; nor from that of bishop Prosper,[468] in the fifth; which is insinuated by Cogitosus[469] and confirmed by Gildas,[470] in the sixth; nor from the tenor of those letters of Lanfranc,[471] archbishop of Canterbury, written A. D. 1074, to Gothric, king of Dublin, and to Terdelvacus, king of Ireland; or that of Anselm, archbishop of the same see, in the close of the eleventh century, to Muriardach, king of Ireland, on the same subject; nor from the united testimony of Malachias,[472] Giraldus Cambrensis,[473] and Gulielmus Neubrigensis,[474] of the twelfth century.

[467] Sanct. Hieron. epis. ad Ctesiphon. 'Neque Britannia — et Scotica gentes — barbaræ nationes, &c. et iterum contra Jovinianum, p. 135. hujus tractus.

[467] Dum Scoticas Piraticumque gentium frementium rabies, &c.

[468] Liber contra Collatorem, speaking of Pope Cœlestine: — fecit etiam barbaram Christianam (nationem Hibernicam.) — And Gallus, an Irishman: Scotia quondam bruta, nunc in Christo prudentissima, nobis tamen nostrum primitivum exhorruit Ecclesiam.

[469] Speaking of the town Kildare: — Divina est refugii misericordia datoris suburbanis in tota Scotorum terra, suis cunctis fugitivis, &c.

[470] See note 61 p. 265 of this Inquiry.

[471] Vet. Epist. Hib. Sylloge, Lac. Usser. — In regno vestro prohibentur homines — legitimè sibi copulatas pro arbitrio & voluntate relinquere; nonnullos suas aliis dare, & aliorum infandâ commutatione recipere.

[472] See note 357 of this Inquiry.

[473] Topogr. Hib. cap. 10 et cap. 19. Gens sparcissima, gens vitiis involutissima, &c. et cap. 35.

[474] Boxhorn. Hist. Univ. p. 734. Neubrigensis, lib. 2, cap. 26. Sed populos habet (Hibernia) moribus incultos & barbaros, legum & disciplinæ fere ignaros: in agriculturam desides, & lacte magis quam pane viventes.

From the accounts of those authors, the only century, in which they seem to have merited the innocuous character ascribed to them by Bede, was the eighth; for in the seventh, although they were religious, St. Jonas insinuates that they were lawless:—'gens quamquam absque reliquarum gentium legibus, tamen in christiani vigoris dogmate florens, omnium vicinarum gentium fidem præpollet.'[475]

The distracted state of this island, before and during the first century, may be ascribed to the ignorance of the arts, the independence of Celtic tribes upon each other, and the consequent want of unanimity which always distinguished the Celtæ from other nations. These causes probably enabled the Armorican settlers to subdue and lay them under tribute. The subsequent interruption of tranquillity was caused by the restless and plundering disposition of the Belgæ, who obtained an ascendant power over the Celtic inhabitants about the third century, which they continued to uphold until the eighth[476] and ninth, when

[475] De vita S. Columbani.

[476] Eginhartus, Caroli item magni cancellarius, A. D. 780, inquit:—'Norvvegi Hiberniam Scotorum insulam aggressi, à Scotis in fugam conversi sunt. They arrived again, A. D. 812, according to Hermannus Contractus and the Annales Fuldenses Monasterii.

Ogyg. p. 433. Demum, anno 815, Turgesius Norwegus in Hiberniam appulit, & exinde ibidem fixas sedes habere cœperunt.

they themselves found a new enemy in one branch of their own family, called Danes and Norwegians; and, in the twelfth, one still more formidable in another, denominated Saxons or English.

Their shifting pastoral life and law of equality prevented improvement, and their practice of pillage not only prevented it among their neighbours, but caused a general neglect of agriculture, and a consequent want of the common necessaries of life.

These evils were also promoted by that liberty in excess, which their Gothic laws allowed; for, like the ancient Germans, their ancestors, the Belgæ were a military and free people, over whom their generals had no power of castigation. The infliction of punishment among them was probably conceived to be, as among the Germans, an act emanating from a deity, through the instrumentality of their bards.[477] They acknowledged no dependance upon, or obedience to, other tribes.[478] Their eruic or amercement,[479] which

[477] Tac. de Germ. sec. 7.

[478] O'Halloran's Introd. vol. 2, p. 295. 'The Heberians, as Kings of South Ireland, acknowledged no kind of dependence on the Monarchs.'—And Tacitus de Germ. sec. 7, Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas.

[479] Tac. de Germ. sec. 12 & sec. 21. Luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero, recipitque satisfactionem universa domus.

roused all the latent and bad passions, became the general and predominant law of this isle.[480] Under its murderous influence, the life of man became, almost with impunity, the sport of ambition, jealousy or anger; while that of horses, among their Gothic ancestors, was preserved inviolate. The predominance of this law rendered other ordinances vague, feeble, nugatory. Hence the history of the Irish kings is, with few exceptions, a history of ambition, murder[481] and usurpation.[482] And those vices, which were construed into military virtues, became subjects of panegyric among the venal horde of bards. The following stanza

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[480] In the reign of Henry VII. A. D. 1495, an act was made 'that no person take any money or amends called 'assaut' for the death or murder of his friend or kinsman, other than the King's laws will.'

[481] Mixture of Fable and Fact, p. 75. O'Flaherty, p. 420, informs us that, of one hundred and thirty-six Pagan Kings, one hundred died by the sword, and only seventeen met with a natural death.

[482] O'Halloran's Introduction, vol. 3, p. 252. 'That Brien should form the resolution to dethrone Malachie, had nothing of novelty in it, too many similar instances have occurred in the course of this history; and provided the claimant was of the Royal line of Milesius, had received the order of chivalry, and could show three royal seats in his family, his success was not deemed an usurpation.'—See Keating's Hist. passim.—Topog. Hib. cap. 45, Prædicti vero reges non alicujus coronationis solemnitate, non inunctionis sacramento, non etiam jure hereditario, vel aliqua successionis proprietate: sed vi & armis tantum, totius insulæ monarchiam obtinuerunt: & suo more regni gubernacula susceperunt.

is extracted from a poem of one of the most eminent bards among the Irish:

Sinsireacht ni ghabhain ceart
A ttir do ghabhthar le neart;
Calmacht na bhfear is ceart an,
'Sai sinsireacht fhear aithbhan.

This, in prose, admits of the following translation, which is almost literal:—Title by seniority does not constitute a right to a territory subdued by superior strength. A real right consists in valour, not in the imbecility of old age.

All foreign writers from the third to the fifteenth century call the Irish, *Scots*, an appellation, which insinuates that they were Goths, or a people of Gothic descent; yet the Rev. Mr. Whitaker, founding his opinion upon the tenor of Ossian's poem, affirms that the Celtic tribes predominated in Ireland. The bards take but little notice of the Belgæ or Damnonii under these names: they even limit their duration in Ireland from thirty to eighty years. The native writers never

imagined that the posterity of the Cauci, Menapii, Ibhearni, &c. who used the Celtic language, could have been distinct tribes from their neighbours, the Brigantes, with whom they were engaged for centuries at war. Nevertheless, Irish history unknowingly traces the Belgic conquests into every province in Ireland, in which their descendants divided themselves into septs; toparchs, and clans, seizing upon large tracts of land and occupying them, as they appear upon the map prefixed to this work.[483] Like the Romanized Britons, who considered the Picts a savage people distinct from themselves, the Irish, ignorant even of their own history, never conceived that the manners and customs of Germany were the predominant manners and customs of Ireland. Yet, all the Irish bards were aware of the dominion of a Gothic or Scythian family in Erin; but, ignorant of the tribes by which it had been effected, they have preposterously ascribed it to the arms and transferred it to the family of the Celtic Brigantes.

[483] The bards inform us of the names of several other places possessed by branches of this family in Erin: they are not described on the Map prefixed to this History, because the situations cannot be now ascertained.

The Belgæ seem to have plotted the subjugation of the Celtæ between the second and the third century, and, as I have observed, succeeded at length in seizing upon their possessions. Another branch, of the same family, called *Saxons*, reduced the Celtæ of Britain in about four centuries after the Roman conquest, when its population was thinned by the emigration of its youth, and by frequent skirmishes with the plundering Picts and Scots. The Belgic or Scottish tribes of Ireland, after the reduction of the Celtæ, continuing a life of rapine, preyed upon each other and reduced their population so considerably that, in the twelfth century, a small army of adventurers, composed of Saxon and Norman descendants, conquered a large portion of those Belgic septs, and obtained possessions in this country. Thus, the Belgæ and Saxons, two branches of the same family, differing in language, manners and customs, then occupied the soil of Ireland. Jealousy, nurtured by prejudice and pride, opposed itself to inconsiderateness, folly, and power, from the twelfth to the seventeenth century; during which time, these causes prevented the bonds of consanguinity

from uniting the Irish and British people in fellowship: they prevented the principle of mutual interest from producing unanimity and happiness. Yet both were, as their posterity in Britain and Ireland still are, descendants of the Goths, and consequently, one family: a family connected by the *tie* of kindred to a long line of British monarchs, descended from a race common to both; a *tie* strengthened by allegiance and still connecting, through German origin, the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland to their present gracious sovereign, George the Fourth.

The British are highly applauded; the Irish greatly traduced. The former seem to consider the latter, compared with themselves, a wild variety of their own species, as if the channel between them should alter the course of nature, and enable the zoologist, with regard to the native animals, and the botanist, with regard to the indigenous plants of Great Britain, to discover a dissimilitude between their species and the same produced at this side of the water. Different modes of education have caused different manners and customs: these constitute discriminating traits of character; but though they differ in these

respects, both, as I have observed, are, with regard to family, of the same race; and, as to relative rank, the Irish are equally brave, benevolent, generous, and equally susceptible of instruction.

After this Inquiry had been written, some friends suggested to the author, the propriety of translating those different quotations, whose tenor may happen to be omitted; but as the pages could not admit of their insertion, he has, in compliance with their advice, collected them at the end.

ADDENDA.

ADDENDA.

Note 1. Cæsar de bell. Gall.—Britain abounds with inhabitants.

Note 129. Cæsar.—Most of those who live in the interior parts of the country do not sow corn; but live upon milk and flesh.

Note 135. Tacitus.—You may perceive a similar belief among the inhabitants of both countries, with regard to their sacred rites and superstitions: their language does not differ much.

Note 136. Cæsar.—Their houses are crowded; and their structure and form are almost the same as those of the Gauls.

Strabo.—Their houses are of a round shape and built of planks and wattles.

Note 138. Cæsar.—They are clad in skins.

Note 139. Strabo.—They are partly more simple and barbarous insomuch that some of them are ignorant of the mode of making cheese, although they have an abundance of milk.

Note 143. Cæsar.—A family consisting of ten or twelve men have wives in common; especially brothers among each other, and parents among their children; but the issue is for the most part reputed to be the offspring of those who married the mothers of the children.

Note 144. Aristotle on the World.—In the Atlantic Ocean the largest islands are two, called the Britannic,—Albion and Ierne.

Note 145. Dionysius Periegetes.—But there are British islands toward the south, of which two are considerable in point of magnitude: one, situated eastward, is called Albion; the other, facing the west, Ierne.

Note 146. Beverus.—Isacius, against Lycophron, celebrates it under the name of West Britain.

Note 158. O'Flaherty.—As the Tuatha DeDánan are reported by our writers to have arrived at the north coast of Ireland.

Note 165. Life of St. Coemgin.—And in the Scottish tongue it is called DUBH-LIN, a name which in Latin signifies the *black bath*. This city is powerful and warlike; always renowned for valiant soldiers and skilful seamen.

Note 178. Tacitus.—The landing places and harbours of Ireland are, by means of commerce and merchants, better known than those of Britain.

Note 184. Cæsar.—Of whom almost all are called after the names of those native cantons from which they proceeded hither.

Note 194. Beverus.—Appian, a grave author, who lived under the emperor Hadrian, says, that the Spaniards undertook no voyage to the west or north ocean, unless when they availed themselves of the tide in sailing to Britain.

Note 196. Rer. Hib. Scr. Vet.—For Silius and Horace inform us that, Scythians dwelled in Spain; whence Nennius narrates their emigration to Ireland in the fourth age of the world.

Horace, lib. 3, car. 4.—Whensoever I shall be honoured with your company, O Muses! I shall, without sustaining any injury, visit the Britons, who are inhuman to strangers; and the Concani who delight in horses' blood.

Silius Italicus, lib. 3, 360, — Nor you, O Concanus! who evince by your cruelty and by satisfying your appetite with the blood of horses, that you are a descendant of the Massagetæ.

Note 207. Richard.—It is very certain, that the Damnii, Voluntii, Brigantes, Cangi and other tribes were of British origin, and passed over afterward. And, p 45, I cannot avoid observing here, that the Damnii, Voluntii, Brigantes and Cangi, were all tribes of British origin, which, in consequence of hostile attacks or oppressive tributes, passed over into that land.

Note 209. Richard.—About that time, in the year of the world 4050, the Cangi and Brigantes having left Britain, emigrated together into Ireland and settled there.

Note 234. Mc Geoghegan.—The first colony of the Scoto-Milesians, which established itself in Alba, was headed in the beginning of the third century, by Carbre, &c.

Note 246. Juvenal.—Than whom neither the terrible Cimbri, nor the Britons (Armoricans).

Note 247. Martial.—How the old breeches of the poor Briton (Armorican).

Note 248. Pliny.—Britain at this time devoutly celebrates that sorcery, or religion of the Magi, and with so much ceremony that she may be supposed to have introduced it among the Persians.

Note 252. Diodorus.—The opinion of Pythagoras prevailed among them, that the immortal souls of men pass into other bodies, and, in a limited time, acquire a new animation.

Note 257. Lucan.—You too, O bards or prophets! who dismiss with glory, into a long age, those brave souls removed in battle, have fearlessly poured forth your numerous strains!

Note 267. Dionysius Perieg.—But near this, there is another tract of small islands, where wives, proceeding from the farther coast of the illustrious Amnitæ, sacrifice to Bacchus, according to custom, with the nocturnal black-leaved ivy crowned with clusters of berries. A shrill noise however is emitted, unlike that, &c.

Note 272. Horat.—I will visit the Britons, a people inhuman to strangers.

Note 281. Tacitus.—The language not much different.

Note 283. Giraldus Cambrensis.—The language of the Cornish is British, and very like that of the Armoricans. The tongue of both is intelligible to the Welsh, on account of its origin and agreement in almost every word. See the comment upon the first chapter, by David Powel.

Note 287. Bede.—A. D. 565, Columba, a presbyter, came from Scotland (Ireland) to Britain to instruct the Picts, and he founded a monastery in Hy (Aoi or I, the island.)

Note 293. Mac Geoghegan.—As to those who think that the Milesians had received their letters immediately from the Phenicians, their opinion appears the more probable on account of the commercial intercourse of this people in Spain as well as in Ireland.

Note 296. Tacitus.—But, besides, he directed the sons of the chiefs to be instructed in the liberal arts; and he learned that the capacity of the Britons enabled them to make a greater progress than the Gauls had made by closer study.

Note 299. Alemand.—At Mayo, otherwise Mageo, there had been a celebrated abbey, founded in 665 by St. Colman, to which he brought several English and Irish monks.

Note 308. Asser.—First of all, he appointed the presbyter John, of the Eald-Saxon nation, an abbot.

Usher.—At that time, about the year of Christ 872, John Erigena of the Eald-Saxon nation, flourished in the monastery of St. David in Pembrokeshire. He was called the *Scot*, because he had been in Ireland.

Note 317. Diodorus.—The British islands and territories near the north pole, are of all others the least known.

Note 318. Cæsar.—The Gauls were almost wholly ignorant of the origin of the British people: they were unacquainted with their coasts, harbours and landing places. The merchants were, with very few exceptions, the only Gauls who had any intercourse with them; and their information extended only to a knowledge of the sea coast, and of that part of the country opposite to Gaul.

Note 323. Beverus.—For he says, they abound in lead and tin.

Note 325. Tacitus.—The Roman fleet having then, for the first time, sailed round this coast of the newly discovered sea, affirmed that Britain was an island: at that time they discovered and subjugated those islands called the Orkneys, which until then were unknown.

Note 331. Tacitus.—And lest any should become powerful, all the male issue of the ancient Germans succeeded to the paternal lands.

Note 335. Diodorus Siculus.—The most ferocious of the Gauls are those who inhabit the north, as the Britons who occupy *Iris*—Ireland.

Note 338. Strabo.—In disposition they are like the Gauls; but are partly more simple and barbarous.

Note 339. Diodorus.—The British islands and the north parts are the least known.

Note 343. Diodorus.—They say that some of these are cannibals, like the Britons who inhabit Erin.

Strabo.—Of this island I cannot speak with certainty, except that its inhabitants are more savage than the Britons; that they live upon human flesh. I however give this account from doubtful authority.

Note 345. Solinus.—Ireland is a barbarous country; the manners of its inhabitants are rude. They are a cruel and warlike people, in the habit of first drinking, and then of smearing their faces with, the blood of the slain.

Note 351. Giraldus Cambrensis.—The lands are partially cultivated and very sparingly sown; for indeed the tilled fields are, in consequence of the neglect of cultivators, very few.—Good husbandry is wanted for sustenance: whilst they have need of farmers to manage rich lands, impoverished tracts want hands for their cultivation.

Note 352. Giraldus Cambrensis.—The island however abounds more with pasture than with corn, with grass than grain. The grass-corn looks promising, the culms still more so; but the grain is poor. The grains of wheat are shrivelled and small, and can hardly be cleaned by any mode of winnowing.

Note 357. Giraldus Cambrensis.—An inhospitable nation living among beasts in a bestial manner; a people still pursuing the primitive pastoral mode of living: a people despising agricultural labour, yet caring little about that wealth, which citizens are solicitous to acquire.

Note 360. Sir James Ware.—As to the daily food of the ancient Irish, it is a fact that, that of the lower order was very poor; it usually consisted of milk, butter and herbs.

Note 362. Strabo.—Even now, most of them eat, sitting upon straw or grass stools.

Note 369. Strabo.—They use a wooden javelin in fowling; and in place of flinging it with the aid of a strop, they use the hand.

Note 376. Cæsar.—They threw stones and heavy javelins against the rampart.

Note 380. Tacitus.—The German shields were neither strengthened with iron nor with strings, but were made of plashed willows or of thin stained boards.

Note 387. Solinus.—They, who are fond of finery, ornament the handles of their swords with the teeth of marine animals, which look white as ivory; for the predominant pride of the men seems to be confined to the beauty of their armour.

Note 388. Strabo.—The Gauls use both those and their own in war.

Note 391. Silius.—As when the Belgic dog chases the covert boars.

Note 392. Cæsar.—There were six thousand horse, and as many foot, composed of the swiftest and strongest soldiers, whom they chose as safeguards out of the whole army.

Note 395. Cæsar.—These accompanied them in battle. If they should have occasion to take a long march, or to retreat quickly, habit made them so fleet that, by aid of their horses manes, they kept up with the riders.

Note 409. Tacitus.—Those limbs and bodies, which we admire, grew up naked and filthy in every house. You cannot discriminate the master from the servant by any improvement from education. They live with the cattle upon the same floor, until age and merit separate the higher order.

Note 413. Cluverius.—The Persians are expensive in dress. They are excessively fond of party-coloured clothes.

Note 415. Lucan.—The fierce Vangiones and Batavians who imitate thee, O Sarmatian! in wearing the loose breeches.

Note 416. Cæsar.—And such is their custom that, even in the coldest parts of the country, they have no clothing except skins; and these are so small that they leave a large part of the body uncovered.

Note 417. Diodorus.—Their apparel is wonderful. Their jackets are dyed with various colours, and appear as if sprinkled with flowers. They wear breeches, which they call *braca*. Their mantle or plaid, which was also striped and richly chequered, as if with flowers, is worn thinner in summer than in winter, and it is fastened with clasps or buttons.

Note 418. Tacitus.—The most wealthy are distinguished by a tight dress, in which the shape of the limbs appears.

Note 423. Gildas.—Those terrible gangs of Scots and Picts are more desirous of covering their roguish faces with glibs than the indecorous parts of their persons with raiment; and though they differ somewhat from each other in manners, they are both equally delighted in the shedding of human blood.—Those tawny vermicular battalions, proceeding from the narrow chambers of their forts, (in Ireland and Caledonia) and crossing the Scythian valley, (the north channel) in their corachs, eagerly

disembark upon the British coast, and, heated with rage, return to their wonted practices:—quasi *in alto Titane*, is an expression, which the author of this Inquiry does not understand.

Note 425. Eumenius.—Moreover, the British nation, then rude, and peopled only with Britons accustomed to the inroads of the half naked Picts and Irish, easily yielded to the Roman arms and colours.

Note 426. Gir. Camb.—They are lightly clad in woollen cloth barbarously shaped and generally black, owing to the sheep of that country being black.

Note 436. Tacitus.—The practice partially pursued, by individuals of some German tribes, and originating in private daringness, is generally adopted among the Catti, who, when of adult age, suffer the hair and beard to grow; and this covering, which is devoted to valour, they never divest themselves of, until they destroy an enemy.

Note 438. Tacitus.—The Suevi, even till old age, delight in coarse flowing hair, which they often tie on the crown of the head.

Note 439. Tacitus.—A helmet of steel or leather is rarely used.

Note 441. (Should be 440) Strabo.—Those, who hold honorable employments, assume dyed raiment, variegated with gold.

Note 440. (Should be 441) Strabo.—A considerable share of folly, of arrogance, and love of finery is attached to their simplicity and ferocity; for they wear golden chains about the neck, and bracelets about the arms and wrists.

Note 443. Cæsar.—And their houses, crowded together, are almost the same as those of the Gauls.

Note 449. Cæsar.—The magistrates and princes allow to cantons and families as much land as they think expedient, and where they please; but they oblige them to remove annually from their possessions. The motives for this practice are numerous: one was intended to prevent their building, with the view of guarding against the extremes of cold or heat: another, to

preserve equanimity among the lower order, who could have no cause of jealousy, on perceiving that, their possessions equal those of the most powerful.

Note 450. Tacitus.—It is well known that, the Germans do not dwell within cities, nor have connected houses. They have villages, but the houses are not continuous. The materials made use of are mishapen and without fashion or taste. They are not even acquainted with mortar or tiles.

Note 459. Tacitus.—This only is to be observed that, the corpses of celebrated men are burned with a certain sort of timber. And Christ. Cilicius says; some, but not many, wished after the Roman custom, to have their bodies burned, and the collected ashes preserved in an urn.

Note 461. Giraldus Cambrensis.—There are pastors who do not endeavour to feed, but to be fed. There are prelates who do not desire to do good, but to rule. There are bishops who do not aim at prognostication, but at fame; they seek honour, not toil. They are so delighted with the beauty of Rachel as to disdain the sore eyes of Leah. On which account it happens that, they neither preach the word of God to the people, nor announce their sins: they neither extirpate vice from the flock committed to their care, nor plant virtue in its room.

Note 462. Diodorus.—The most ferocious of the Gauls are those, who dwell in the north.

Note 463. Strabo.—Of this island I have no certain information, except that its inhabitants are wilder than the Britons, and feed upon human flesh: they are gluttons, and think it a virtuous act to devour the corpses of their parents, and to lie publicly, not only with other women, but even with their mothers and sisters! An account nearly similar is given of the Britons, by Cæsar, on the Gallic war.—Book 5, chap. 14.

Note 464. Pomponius Mela.—Its inhabitants are rude, ignorant of every virtue, and totally devoid of religion.

Note 465. Solinus.—Ireland is a savage country; the manners of the inhabitants unpolished. This inhospitable and warlike people, when victorious, first, &c —(see note 345). They are ignorant of any distinction between right and wrong.

Note 466. The Epistle of St. Jerome to Ctesiphon.—Neither Britain — the Scottish people — barbarous nations, &c. And again, against Jovinian.

Note 467. Ammianus Marcellinus.—When the inroads of the Scots and Picts, a wild people, &c.

Note 468. Prosper.—He made even the barbarous Irish nation a christian one.

Note 469. Cogitosus.—Of the whole land of the Scots, this town is the safest asylum for all those fugitives, who dwell about it.

Note 471. Usher.—It is reported that, husbands in your kingdom abandon, according to fancy or will, those wives to whom they were lawfully married; that some are in the abominable habit of exchanging their own for those of others, &c.

Note 473. Gir. Cambrensis.—A most filthy people, polluted in the highest degree with vice.

Note 474. Neubrig.—But the inhabitants of Ireland are rude and barbarous in manners, scarcely acquainted with laws and government: they are slothful in agriculture, and therefore depend for sustenance more on milk than bread.

Note 475. Sanc. Jonas.—Although this nation is without the benefit of those laws, which govern other states, yet by her progress in the christian doctrine, she exceeds all her neighbours in devotion.

Note 476. Eginhartus, chancellor of Charles the Great, says that, A. D. 780, the Norwegians, who invaded Ireland, the island of the Scots, were driven out by the natives.

O'Flaherty.—At length, A. D. 815, Turgesius, a Norwegian, arrived in Ireland, and then began to obtain a footing there.

Note 478. Tacitus. — Their kings have not an unlimited or free power over them.

Note 479. Tacitus. — Even murder is atoned for, by a certain number of cattle or sheep, which appease the wrath of the whole family.

Note 482. Giraldus Cambrensis. — But the above-mentioned kings obtained the monarchy of the whole island, not by the solemnity of coronation, not by the consecration of unction, not even by hereditary right or propriety of succession, but by force and arms only; and they usurped the reins of government according to their custom.

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☞ Where this mark * follows the name of Ptolemy or Orosius, it is intended to signify that corresponding Irish tribes have been discovered by the Author of this Inquiry.

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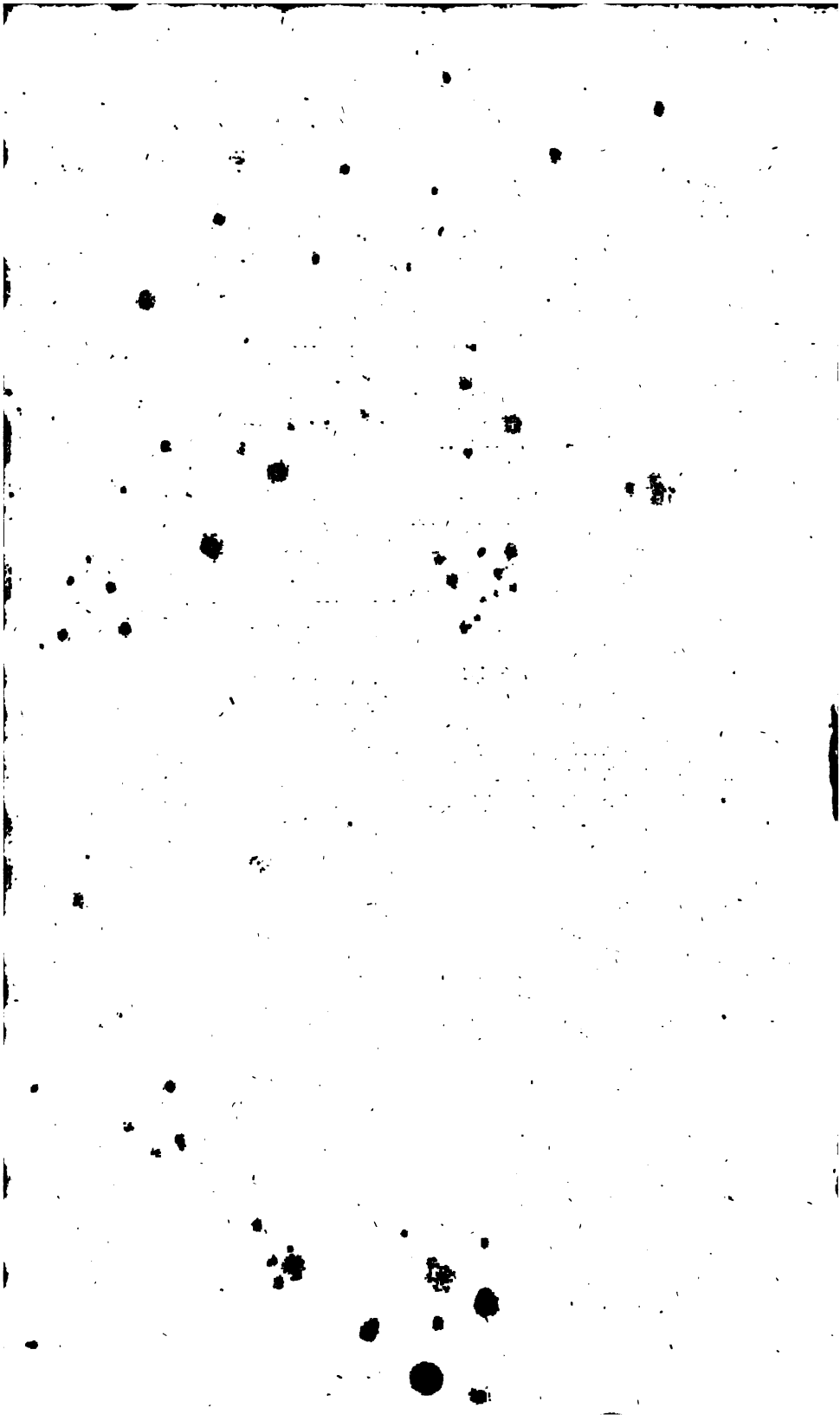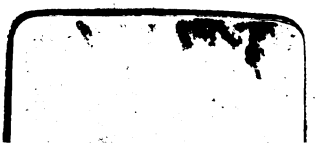
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